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FICKLE MERIDIANS AND

PRE-WAR CONSCRIPTION

THE CONTEMPORARY SOUTHERN
REGIONAL SOCIOLOGY

ENGLISH FILM CENSORSHIP

THE PERMANENT SOLUTION

THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

ECONOMIC ERRORS OF THE

EXAMINATION FOR AGRICULTURE

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE
ASSOCIATION

BOOK REVIEWS

BOOK NOTES

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THE
SOUTHWESTERN SOCIAL SCIENCE
QUARTERLY

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No. 2

Fickle Meridians and Roaming Rivers

T. C. RICHARDSON
Farm and Ranch

LaSalle followed the Mississippi river from Illinois to the Gulf, but generally speaking, the early explorers were more concerned with treasure and trade than with geography, and made little effort to map the country. Much confusion arose from the haphazard explorations and the conjectures by which early cartographers tried to piece out the known facts. The Spanish, for instance, found and named the Rio Grande in three sections, calling it *del Norte* in the upper course, *Rio Bravo* in the middle, and finally, when identification was complete, *Rio Grande del Norte*.

Their penchant for applying *Colorado* or *Rojo* (*Roxo*) to streams carrying red silt also led to confusion; the first *Colorado* of Texas later became the Brazos, which is much redder than the river to which the name was transferred. *The Rojo* of the French-Spanish border was the *Rouge* of the French, but the *Colorado* of northeast New Mexico is in fact a part of the Canadian.

The French, instead of inventing new names, generally adopted the Indian name, and thus we have Ouachita (Anglicized to Washita in Oklahoma) and Wichita, both derived from the same Indian tribe. The various streams which form the Brazos bear Indian names on old maps, indicating that Frenchmen were the first white men to explore the region. There are Tampisarahco, Tosolunova, Keriachelunova; the Colorado of Texas is the Pasigono, and Que-che-que-ho-no, (Comanche

for Prairie-dog-town river) is the south prong of the Red river which Marcy set out to explore in 1852.

After Louisiana passed to Spanish sovereignty de Mezieres visited the Wichita villages in Montague and Jefferson counties in 1774 and 1778, and Kendall, historian of the Texas Santa Fe expedition, describes its abandonment. Pedro Vial, another Frenchman in Spanish service, scouted a route between Santa Fe and Natchitoches along the old Comanchero trail in 1807-8, striking Red river below the *angosturas* (narrows) and passing the Wichita villages to which we have referred. These are the same Indians that Marcy afterward found on Rush creek, and whose abandoned fields he saw on Medicine and Cache creeks near the present Fort Sill.

In 1833 A. LeGrand, an American, surveyed the Beales & Royuellas empresario grant which comprised a large part of west Texas and eastern New Mexico. He crossed Red river (the Quechequehono) below Paloduro canyon but mistook it for a south branch of the Canadian. He names Washington river (which is the Blanco, main upper affluent of the Brazos) and it was mapped as a part of the *Rio Roxo*. Though Le Grand's survey was published in 1841 in London, (Kenedy's *History of Texas*) Washington appears to have been ignorant of it.

Soon after the accession of Louisiana, President Jefferson fostered the exploration of the territory and its borders. The Louisiana purchase, however, raised Spanish suspicion to its highest pitch, and the government of New Spain enforced the policy of exclusiveness with all its power. Captain Sparks, who left Natchez in May 1806 with orders to explore the sources of Red river, was turned back by Spanish soldiers after passing the "Big Raft" in northwest Louisiana. Philip Nolan, catching wild horses in Texas, was attacked and slain, about the same time.

Soon after the Sparks debacle, Lieut. Zebulon M. Pike was ordered to explore the Arkansas and return by way of Red river. Pike went far beyond the sources of Red river and was captured by the Spanish from Santa Fe on an upper tributary of the Rio Grande. He was more fortunate than Nolan in escaping with his life, and his journal of the traverse from Santa Fe via Chihuahua and San Antonio to Natchitoches is an invaluable and fascinating historical source-book, which was published in four languages and five countries within four years.

General Wilkinson, that energetic visionary who kept things stirring

in his Southwestern jurisdiction, bluntly told Lieut. Pike that "the principal object of your expedition (i.e., the exploration of Red river) has been missed."

After Jefferson's administration, exploration lagged, but with the D'Onis treaty which designated the boundary between this country and Spain (1819), Red river assumed a new importance. Major Stephen H. Long, who established Fort Smith on the Indian border in 1817, explored the Platte river in 1819, and in the following year descended the Canadian for more than 200 miles before he discovered that it was not the Red.

The sources of Red river, therefore, remained a mystery to Americans, though familiar to the *Comancheros*, and *Ciboleros* from New Mexico. Coronado had followed its course from Cicuye to the "second ravine" between present Montague county, Texas and Jefferson county, Oklahoma, and after a "detour toward Florida," which took him to central Texas, went "north by the needle" crossing Red river again probably through Wilbarger and Tillman counties. Pedro Vial and various other Spanish provincial functionaries traversed the region from Santa Fe to Natchitoches between the transfer of Louisiana to Spain in 1763 and the first revolutionary activities in Texas and Mexico, but all this was unknown to the United States. The ill-fated Santa Fe expedition from Texas retraced a part of Coronado's route along the Upper Red in 1841, but did not know it.

Santa Fe traders had crossed the Plains via the Canadian river as early as 1822, and in 1849 Captain Randolph B. Marcy led an emigrant caravan, California-bound, from Van Buren, Arkansas, to Santa Fe by the Canadian route. Returning from Dona Ana (near present Las Cruces) he traced the route later followed by the Overland Stage from Preston, Texas, to El Paso. His experience then and thereafter in Plains travel qualified him for the commission for the exploration of Red river when Jefferson Davis, another expansionist of the Jefferson type, became head of the War Department. The annexation of Texas in 1845 and the acquisition of all the territory from there to the Pacific Coast not only opened the way, but made exploration imperative, in the great *terra incognita* which encompassed the upper 250 miles of Red river.

With all the crossing and recrossing of the Plains since Coronado, the New Mexicans had located passable routes both north and south of Red river. The "Great Spanish road" of early maps followed the

Canadian across the Texas Panhandle, crossed the upper Washita (which they called *Rio Negro*) to the North Fork of Red river and followed the course of the main river to the mouth of the Washita. *Comanchero* traders from Taos and Santa Fe also found a route via present Portales, New Mexico, the Blackwater valley, Runningwater creek and Quitaque Pass to the spring-fed sources of Pease river in Motley county. This seems to have been a trading center with the Plains tribes after they ceased going to Taos and Santa Fe for the annual *feria*, and one of the tributaries of the Peace bears the significant name of Tongue river. With precipitous escarpments hemming it in for sixty miles, it is easy to see why Red river was passed by, and the belief that it rose in snow-clad mountains persisted long after it came into the domain of the United States.

Forty-six years, almost to a day, after Captain Sparks' party entered the mouth of Red river in Louisiana under orders to explore "to the top of the mountains," Captain Marcy marched from Fort Belknap with his company. His wagon train was organized at Preston, Texas, and the wagonmaster was ordered to proceed via Fort Arbuckle to the mouth of Cache creek. The scientific members of the party, Captain McClellan and Dr. George G. Shumard, accompanied the command from Fort Belknap, and the latter's daily geological observations complement the log of distances and directions in identifying localities, along the route. Marcy's measurements, however, were made by the revolutions of a wheel, counting every convolution of the land, hence the true distances are somewhat shorter than the mileage in his log. Allowance must be made for this up-and-down discrepancy besides for the bewildering zig-zags which often marked the day's travel. I have tried to correlate the log with modern geography by the help of small-scale maps and by personal knowledge of the terrain and the permanent landmarks. I grew up in and rode over it when most of it was open country. I have criss-crossed it in every direction by highway, but without the time to turn aside for examination of inaccessible landmarks.

No cloistered historian, even the great Bancroft, ever plots an accurate course from the descriptive text alone. A first-hand knowledge of the country is indispensable, and even that is uncertain without traversing the route with the text in hand. Time does not permit of explanations by which to justify my conclusions, so I shall ask your indulgence for what may superficially appear to be dogmatic statements, and I shall

not quarrel with anyone, who, after study of the log and and observation on the ground, arrives at a different conclusion.

Neither does time permit liberal quotations from Captain Marcy's fascinating narrative, though some of his descriptive passages are not only illuminative of the pristine beauties of an unspoiled country, but also exhibit a high degree of literary excellence. I was fortunate enough to see some of the places he describes before civilization had changed them, and can share his enthusiasm and vouch for his accuracy. His description of the Paloduro canyon and its spectacular formations would do for a modern tourist folder, and indeed the "giddy battlements" and "projecting watchtowers standing in bold relief upon the azure ground of the pure and transparent sky above" may be identified and enjoyed today by an imaginative visitor to Paloduro State Park. "Its unreclaimed sublimity and wildness" has fortunately been preserved, first by its inaccessibility, and finally by setting it apart as a state park.

The command was delayed by high water in Red river, after a leisurely trip which permitted the examination of the valley of the Little Wichita in present Clay County, Texas, which impressed the Captain most favorably. From the Little Wichita they ascended the south bank of Red river to the Big Wichita, reaching it May 9. Three days later, their provisions being almost consumed, Captain Marcy swam Red river with two Indian scouts, reached the wagon train on the Fort Arbuckle road and returned to the command with supplies by packhorse. Crossing the river, they reached Cache creek May 13. The supply train arrived May 14, but high water held them back until the 16th, when, by digging down the steep banks, the whole expedition crossed the creek.

This was the official take-off point, and the crossing was below the junction of the two main prongs of Cache creek. Taking the divide between the western affluents of the creek and the river, Camp No. 2 was in the vicinity of Randlett, No. 3 near Grandfield (May 17) and No. 4 near Hollister (May 18) where a day's halt was made on a branch of Slough creek (Marcy calls it Sink creek) and Deep Red Run which joins West Cache northeast of Randlett. Camp No. 3 was nine miles from the river, which Captains Marcy and McClellan visited while the train moved up the ridge toward the Sink Creek camp.

Despite three days of cloudless weather a foaming torrent came down the "dry bed of the rivulet" where only stagnant pools had been, which the Delaware guides considered a good augury and a special favor of

the Great Spirit but which Marcy described as "a most inexplicable phenomenon." Despite his three years' experience in the Southwest, he was evidently unfamiliar with the erratic waterspouts which often fall in a limited area and breed "head-rises" elsewhere. He declares that the stream extended no more than three miles above camp, which could have been true for the channel, but with a watershed extending much farther.

This was largely a tall-grass country, and even the dense short grass sod held back rainfall for hours so that it reached stream channels long after the last vestige of storm clouds was gone from the sky. After the grass was burned and overgrazed floodwaters rushed rapidly down the slopes, and the retarded run-off which produced such "inexplicable phenomenon" as this ceased to be.

Rain held the party in camp May 19 and the next two days it made only about eight miles, Camp 6 being near Frederick, still on the Cache creek side of the ridge. On May 22 the route lay west and northwest for some 14 miles, thence northward past Tipton "toward two very prominent peaks of the Wichita mountains . . . until we arrived at an elevated spot—where we suddenly came in sight of Red river, directly before us." Four miles beyond this vista camp No. 8 was made on Otter creek four miles above its confluence with North Fork. The "prominent peaks" toward which they had traveled were the Navajos on the other side of the river, which here makes a horseshoe bend to the east.

The Otter creek camp was marked on an elm tree at 100 deg. 45 seconds west longitude, as we now know about two-thirds of a degree and fifty miles wrong. This error was carried through the entire expedition. Captain McClellan ran the meridian to the main river six miles below the junction of North and (Que-che-que-ho-no) Prairie Dogtown forks and marked it on a cottonwood tree near the base of a sandhill 50 feet from the water as the boundary between Texas and the Choctaw nation, at "20 miles from Otter creek."

The expedition remained on Otter creek with two short camp movements until May 29, when it crossed to the north bank and traveled six miles northward to a point west of Snyder (camp No. 10) and on May 30 camp No. 11 was made "near two mountains about 3 miles from the river and a mile west of the head branch of Otter creek," which was near Cold Springs station on the Frisco railroad. Northwest from there Elk creek was discovered and named on May 31, and camp No. 12 was

three miles beyond. Having passed the ox-bow bend in the river, the course was west and northwest six miles to near Lugert, and exploring parties detoured to discover the mouth of Elm creek (which Marcy named "Salt Fork,") coming into the river from the west. (Three weeks later, having passed entirely around the head of Elm creek, the party explored the sources of Salt Fork in Donley county, Texas, mistaking it for the same stream he had seen at the base of the mountains in eastern Greer county. This explains the anomalous nomenclature which fastened "Salt Fork" on a stream that is not salty. On his return he crossed Salt Fork between Elmer and Olustee, but did not recognize it as the stream whose head he had traced to the Caprock a few weeks previously.)

Mt. Webster was climbed and named by Capt. McClellan also on June 1, and the next day 11 miles travel took them out of the mountains and within half a mile of the river about west of the present station of Cambridge, on the Orient railroad. On June 3 they crossed the river "near the lower extremity of the bluffs," "nearly opposite the western extremity of the Wichita mountains" (the Headquarters group at Granite) and camp No. 15 was on a high bluff northeast of Willow. Traveling westward they encountered the brakes of Haystack creek on June 4, and turning north, camped at a grove on the high prairie; next day they entered the shinnery sandhills between Delhi and Sayre, and camped near the river, which was recrossed June 6, near the present Rock Island railroad bridge.

Following the high, rolling prairie, Suydam and Loesse creeks were crossed and named on June 7 and 8, and on the 9th, Sweetwater creek, six miles from Red river was the site of camp No. 21. This was near the village of Mayfield, north of Erick. Ten miles up the north bank of Sweetwater placed camp No. 22 at about the present state line, and on June 11 the party crossed to the south bank and resumed a westward course along the high prairie bordering the valley for ten miles, which brought camp No. 23 about north of the town of Wheeler. Another day's travel, turning northward with the creek, placed camp No. 24 very near where Fort Elliott was established in 1876, two miles above old Mobeetie. (Modern Mobeetie moved to the railroad.) Captain Marcy devotes a page to the beaver dam he found here, and to my own knowledge beavers still lived in Sweetwater creek as late as 1906. (Mobeetie is Indian for Sweetwater.)

It was six miles from this camp to the river—North Fork—which

Captain Marcy visited while the party remained in camp on Sweetwater. He found good water in spring branches flowing in from the north, and on June 14 camped on Kioway creek near the present line between Wheeler and Gray counties. Green grapes and wild onions were gathered and eaten as anti-scorbutics here. June 15 the party crossed the river and traveled 10 miles west up the south bank, and on the 16th camped three miles below the debouchure of the stream from the plains escarpment. This was near the west line of Gray county and south of Pampa, which Capt. McClellan calculated to be in Longitude 101 deg. 55 minutes, but is in fact almost exactly on the 101st meridian. The site was marked by a bottle buried under a large cottonwood tree near the river.

Leaving camp, the Captain led a small party northward across the plains to a point on the Canadian which he had passed in 1849, enroute from Fort Smith to Santa Fe, where he blazed another cottonwood and marked the distance to the Red river camp.

On June 20 a twelve-mile journey southward brought them to "a very beautiful stream—running rapidly over a gravel bed," which Marcy named for his friend "Captain McClellan, who I believe to be the first white man that ever set eyes upon it." Crossing the creek and continuing southward on June 21 they topped the ridge "which divides the waters of the North from those of the Middle or Salt Fork," (sic.) and camped on an affluent of the latter in the northwest corner of Donley county, where "we were much gratified to find the water—sweet and wholesome." On June 22 they struck a large branch of Salt Fork near its source at the Plains escarpment, reached the main stream just below the present town of Goodnight, and followed its left bank eastward 4 miles on June 23.

Next day the party again turned southward at right angles to the river and after negotiating "a labyrinth of barren sandhills" (near Ash-tola) for 14 miles, "emerged upon a high ridge from which we could discern . . . a broad valley through which we supposed the South branch to flow." On the morning of June 25 some "elevated white bluffs" were visible in the distance; passing 15 miles in a southwesterly course they crossed Mulberry creek in the southwestern part of Donley county, and camped on a small branch of the main river. The log is difficult to follow here, but the journal definitely places camps 35 and 36 on the river, the latter on the south bank.

The wagons and the main body were left in the eastern part of Briscoe county while Captains Marcy and McClellan with an escort of ten men went on horseback to the head of the river, which Marcy estimates at 60 to 65 miles above the camp. With the thermometer at 104 and nothing but gyp water to drink for the first two days the discomforts of the men can be imagined only by those who have had similar experiences, but on July 1 they passed beyond the gypsum belt and found "delicious clear water flowing over a rocky bed. Copious drafts of cool sweet water with the pleasure we received from the beautiful and majestic scenery around us amply remunerated for all our fatigue and privations," writes Marcy. After climbing to the top of the escarpment (about ten miles from Canyon City) and viewing the plains from the rim, the party returned to camp on July 3, and next day "at an early hour we turned our faces toward home."

Keeping within four to twelve miles of the Quechequehono, the expedition passed through northern Hall county and topped out on the high prairie in Childress county July 9, where they caught the first shadowy glimpse of the Navajo mountains 60-odd miles to the eastward "like smoky clouds against the murky sky near the horizon." From here the course lay to the south of Hollis to Turkey creek (Deep Red Run on old maps) near Duke, which Marcy says "had more timber than we had seen since leaving Sweetwater." Next day (July 10) they crossed the ridge eastward and come to "a deep and rapid affluent of the main river" which is what we now call Salt Fork, but which Marcy did not recognize as the same stream whose sources he had explored near the caprock from June 21 to 23 some 80 miles away.

Passing downstream to near Olustee, with "the mountains to the left," the expedition turned northward (July 11) and on July 12 "taking a course north of east towards a mountain we recognized as being upon Beaver creek, (sic.) . . . reached the confluence of this stream with Red river . . . and crossing a short distance above the junction, camped in a bend of the creek." This was Otter, not "Beaver creek," as the text has it, and the command was delighted to find "good running water, after so long being deprived of it." Camp No. 48 was some four miles north of Tipton.

During the next several days Marcy explored Otter creek and the several branches of West Cache creek, whose beauties and advantages he describes in glowing terms. "The best timber I have seen west of the

Cross Timbers . . . soil of great fertility . . . the valley teems with an exuberance of verdure." I saw this in 1898, when Quanah Parker's house was the only one between old Navajo and Fort Sill, and can readily agree with Captain Marcy's raptures. On July 18, from near Cache, the expedition found a passable route into the heart of the Wichitas, camped at the base of Mt. Scott, "named in honor of our distinguished commanding general," and viewed Medicine Creek valley, "one of the most beautiful and romantic valleys I have ever seen."

July 19 they passed abandoned fields and villages of the Wichita and Keechi Indians in Medicine and Cache Creek valleys. "The more I have seen of the country about these mountains the more pleased I have been with it," Captain Marcy reports. He describes the lush meadows of Cache Creek valley, which, until the opening of the country for settlement in 1901, were harvested for hay by the Tonkawas to supply the cavalry horses at Fort Sill.

The expedition then crossed the divide and on July 22 "ascended the eastern branch of Beaver Creek to its source," and five miles through the blackjacks of the Cross Timbers brought them to "one of the branches of Rush Creek," which, "takes its rise in large springs and runs off in a fine, bold stream, with a variety of hard timber along its borders." Camp No. 57 was made half a mile below the villages of the Wichitas and Wacos, with 42 and 20 lodges, respectively, each containing two families. This was evidently near the present town of Rush Springs.

On July 24 the party proceeded along the ridge between Rush and Wildhorse creeks 12 miles from the last camp, and the next day crossed Wildhorse and entered the Cross Timbers on the divide between Wildhorse and Mud Creeks, passing near the present villages of Cruce, Arthur, and Velma. July 26 only eight miles was made, but on the 27th they ran into the road from Fort Belknap to Fort Arbuckle and "the spades and axes were laid by . . the command heartily rejoiced . . as our road-making duties have been very laborious."

Taking off at one o'clock in the morning, the command marched into Fort Arbuckle, nine miles from camp No. 52, at daylight on July 28. Captain Marcy estimates that he traveled about a thousand miles. The geological and biological data collected was the first scientific material from the region, but it lay dormant for more than a generation.

Professor Edward Hitchcock of Amherst college, who reported on

geology from Dr. Shumard's specimens, refers several times to a lecture Capt. Marcy delivered before the American Geographical and Statistical Society. "Your account of the remarkable cañons of Red river . . . has been read by me with great interest . . . I have been studying analogous phenomena in this, which seems to me to be a neglected part of geology. The cañons of our southwestern regions are among the most remarkable examples of erosion on the globe; and the one on Red river seems to be on a more gigantic scale than any of which I have found a description."

He made only one significant geographical error—the confusion of Salt Fork and Elm Creek—which has been perpetuated in nomenclature. The major mistakes in latitude and longitude were corrected by other surveys before the country was settled, but the fickle 100th meridian did not settle down exactly until quite recently.

Marcy stopped his explorations for stream sources at the Caprock, and did not follow them to their actual headwaters far out on the Plains. Had he done so he could have traced Paloduro and Tierra Blanca creeks into Curry county, New Mexico, where Tierra Blanca, the longest drainway into Red river, begins within a few miles of the western Plains escarpment, and very near the primary source of Runningwater draw, which is the beginning of the Brazos.

Pre-War Conscription

ELIAS HUZAR
Cornell University

That the United States entered the second World War with an Army much more adequate than that of April 1917 was the result chiefly of the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940¹—the first peace-time military conscription law of a nation whose past practice had been to rely on small numbers of volunteers until outbreak of hostilities. Similar legislation was rejected in 1920 by a war-weary and election-conscious Congress; but it seems probable that the issue of continuing the draft will be raised again at the end of this war. It may be of future as well as of historic interest, therefore, to review public and legislative reactions to military recommendations for conscription.

President Roosevelt endorsed selective military (and industrial) service on several occasions in 1940, but he left detailed suggestions to the War Department which expressed "full and hearty" accord. Some quarters charged the Army with employing the emergency to foist upon the country a long-planned scheme for permanent conscription which would increase commissions and prestige and decrease the exertion of recruitment. General Wm. E. Shedd, Jr., Assistant Chief of Staff, said the primary reason was to supply necessary military manpower; but he added that even if the volunteer system could provide enough men, selective service was preferable because it would supply a trained reserve and would be "... predictable ... dependable ... orderly ... fair and just ..."² Chief of Staff, George C. Marshall argued that it would

establish the Army on a democratic basis, which ... would produce a degree of solidarity among our people as to the Army, which would be of great advantage to the Army.

It would also permit us in time of peace to maintain a sufficient military force to secure our position without so much of confused discussion as at the present time, and without the necessity for colossal expenditures, because to maintain large groups of personnel in the military service is an expensive process, and, of

¹ Public Law 783, 76th Congress, approved September 16, 1940.

² *Selective Compulsory Military Training and Service*, House Committee on Military Affairs, 76th Cong., 3d sess., hearings on H.R. 10132, pp. 66, 85.

course, the inevitable reaction after the period of crisis is one of economy and emasculation.³

While the War Department supported it "as a temporary measure" and promised long-range plans after the crisis subsided, General Marshall believed "some such law" should be permanent legislation. Most provisions of the selective service law as enacted, however, were to become inoperative on May 15, 1945—"unless this Act is continued in effect by the Congress."

Congressmen's decisions were affected not only by soldiers but also by public reaction as reflected in communications from home, pressure politics, and public opinion polls.⁴ The Military Training Camps Association, which had grown out of the 1915 Plattsburg officer training camps for business and professional men, was the spearhead of the agitation for selective service. This group conducted a campaign to enlist popular support for the draft bill which it had framed with assistance from General Staff officers and which was introduced by Democratic Senator Burke and Republican Representative Wadsworth. A scattering of civilians endorsed the measure, but its chief support came from military men—officials of several veterans groups and the Associations of the Reserve Officers, the National Guard, and the Adjutants General. The latter, however, demanded and secured statutory assurances that the Guard would not be relegated to the position of home defense troops of importance secondary to trained draftees. Few of the active pressure groups were absolutely opposed to the draft. Most of them merely differed on its enactment in 1940, while some were concerned only with details of the law. Leaders of the major labor organizations came out against peace-time military, and industrial, conscription. They were joined by spokesmen for religious groups and many individual clergymen. While few denominations made refusal to participate in war part of their creed, many sought exemption of those of their members whose consciences forbade military service. Condemnation of conscription was voiced also by peace societies, non-interventionist organizations, the Communist Party, and the German-American Bund.

But Americans were not so hostile to selective service as this survey suggests. An increase of public sentiment in favor of the draft as the

³ *Compulsory Military Training and Service*, Senate Committee on Military Affairs, 76th Cong., 3d sess., hearings on S. 4164, p. 337.

⁴ Senate and House hearings, *op. cit.*, and *New York Times*, May-September 1940.

Allies suffered setbacks was reported by the American Institute of Public Opinion which enquired: "Do you think every able-bodied young man 20 years old should be made to serve in the Army, the Navy or the air forces for one year?" Among those who expressed opinions (92 to 94 per cent in the 1940 polls) the replies were⁵:

	<i>Affirmative</i>	<i>Negative</i>
December 1938 (after Munich)	37	63
October 1939 (after outbreak of war)	39	61
June 2, 1940 (after Battle of Flanders)	50	50
June 23, 1940 (after surrender of France)	64	36
July 28, 1940	67	33
August 11, 1940	66	34

The consideration which weighed heaviest in citizens' minds, and which apparently was sufficient to overcome Congressional reluctance to impose burdens, especially great in an election year, was the success of "the most powerful mechanized army the world has ever seen" which in three months had conquered Denmark, Norway, Belgium, the Netherlands, and France. To many the fall of Britain seemed imminent after the debacle which culminated in Dunkirk and during the heavy air raids on English cities in the summer of 1940. If that happened, the United States would be left alone in an unfriendly world and unprepared to cope with it. Still, legislators found it difficult to make up their minds on selective service, and General Marshall complained that "this loss of time—is a constantly growing embarrassment to the War Department." But Congressmen, also, were embarrassed. Theirs were the authority and obligation to raise and support armies for the common defense. What, then, were the questions to which they sought answers in reaching their decisions?⁶

"Everybody is in favor of . . . adequate defense." But there were wide and bitter differences over potential enemies' chances against us and over forces and equipment needed to resist them successfully. To the War Department conscription seemed "immediately necessary" since no one could "figure definitely what is going to happen 1 month . . . or 3 months ahead of time." We might not have another period of grace, such as we had in the first World War, to build an army almost from the ground up; so Congress, which already had recognized

⁵ *New York Times*, July 28, August 11, June 2, 1940.

⁶ 86 *Cong. Rec.* parts 9, 10, 11; Senate and House hearings, *op. cit.*; Senate Report No. 2002, House Reports No. 2903, 2937, 76th Cong., 3d sess.

the threat by voting billions for material, ought at once to prepare an "army in being" whose existence might discourage aggression against us. In any case, it seemed better to have an army and not need it than not to have it and need it. Many opponents of conscription conceded a Nazi will to world domination, but doubted a way to its achievement: Either an enemy could not assemble the transports necessary for invasion, or else these would never reach our shores in large numbers since they would be destroyed by our naval forces and land-based aircraft. Moreover, the "dictator-aggressors" would become entangled with each other and with the conquered peoples so they would be unable to engage in new assaults. Some critics could see no purpose in the draft except an expeditionary force to which they were opposed, while others thought the Roosevelt Administration was making war preparations in order to divert attention from failures in domestic policy and to provide a build-up for the "indispensability" of the President.

Even so, prudence seemed to dictate expansion of the military establishment, which on June 30, 1940 consisted of 264,118 officers and enlisted men in the Regular Army, 242,708 in the National Guard, and 116,636 officers and 3,233 enlisted men in the Reserve Corps. A Congressional minority who preached "quality, not quantity" opposed the creation of a large army on the grounds that "mere human tonnage" had been outmoded by advances in military technology, and that no foe could penetrate our naval and aerial defenses in strength greater than could be annihilated by small mechanized forces. They preferred a strong navy—since attack must come from overseas, many planes and anti-aircraft guns, and "a truly professional army, comparatively small in numbers but of the highest proficiency, an army composed of men who have the long and exacting training that is required [for] mechanized ground weapons . . ." Some of the objections to a large army were cogent, but most Congressmen felt they "would rather have it a little too large than to have one a little too small." They considered it safer to follow the advice of the War Department which wanted "First, to train the force which is contemplated by our protective mobilization plan . . . about 1,200,000 men . . ." According to General Marshall, however, defense of the hemisphere "may require 3,000,000 men, 4,000,000 or more," hence the emphasis on ". . . a second objective . . . to provide a trained reserve."⁷

⁷ Senate hearings, *op. cit.*, p. 366; *New York Times*, August 21, 1940.

How was such a force to be recruited? Selective service was not intended to displace voluntary three-year enlistments. These were necessary in order to provide training cadres for the draft program which required more experience than could be acquired in one year, and to man overseas garrisons which could not be supplied on the basis of 12-month enlistments without excessive costs and administrative difficulties. Since the War Department in August 1940 wanted only 375,000 Regulars, the controversy in Congress centered on the possibility and desirability of employing the volunteer system to secure the protective mobilization force and a trained reserve of citizen soldiers.

Few objected to selective service in time of war, but it was opposed now by those who denied imminent peril to the country, by advocates of a small, mechanized army, and by others, disturbed by the war, who wanted to postpone the draft until the volunteer system had been demonstrated conclusively to be a failure. Some accused the Army of having "deliberately adopted a defeatist attitude toward voluntary enlistment" and predicted that there would be a "rush to volunteer" if there were a determined enlistment drive and if the service were made sufficiently attractive by increasing soldiers' pay, allowing enlistments for one year, and giving reassurances against an AEF. General Marshall said he knew no way to bring the Regular Army and National Guard units to full strength "with the least possible delay," which he deemed imperative, except by selective service, and he doubted the voluntary system would provide more than 375,000 men.⁸ Numbers were a matter of speculation, but there were other considerations.

. . . To produce and maintain properly trained units we must be able to get our men in reasonably large groups in order that we can conduct not only the training of the individual man, but the training of all our combatant units so as to get the coordinate training that is absolutely necessary in an effective force. We cannot do this if the personnel for this force comes in in straggling increments. * * * no system of voluntary enlistment will equip us to secure the results.⁹

Advocates of selective service objected also to the "cruelty and injustice" of a campaign for volunteers with its insistence that a man "be a went and not a sent."

. . . we should have to put on an intensive recruiting drive, with all it involves—bands, war films, white feathers for the reluctant, hysteria—all the things we

⁸ House hearings, *op. cit.*, p. 548.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 535.

should particularly avoid. Even then there would be delay, uncertainty, valuable time wasted, and in the end failure to recruit the required number. * * * Contrast with that the compulsory selective system. No ballyhoo. An orderly, dignified procedure under which every male citizen within the specified limits would register and be classified.¹⁰

The Senate defeated all proposals to delay inductions. In the House, Representative Fish offered an amendment under which the President would have been authorized to issue a call for not more than 400,000 volunteers between 18 and 35, once after enactment of the law and again after January 1, 1941. If, upon expiration of sixty days after such a call, the number needed failed to respond, the deficiency was to be supplied by the selective service machinery which meanwhile would have registered and classified men liable for service. Friends of this scheme argued that it would promote national unity and denied there would be any delay in providing the Army with men since there would be enough volunteers or else preparations for draft inductions would require sixty days—and if they didn't, the Administration would not risk political disfavor by taking men before the elections. But the Burke-Wadsworth bill already allowed volunteering, and opponents of the amendment insisted that in the emergency we should avoid the error of other nations, "wait-wait-wait—not realizing that they were confronted by an immediate enemy who did not wait."¹¹ In spite of Administration opposition, the House adopted the Fish amendment by a vote of 207 to 200, but it accepted the conference report which deleted the provision. Inductions did not begin until after the November elections, but the War Department attributed the delay to failure of Congress to make appropriations more expeditiously for housing and other facilities.

Underlying insistence on the volunteer system and contributing to wishful thinking about it, were uneasiness over departure from tradition and fear for the future of our democracy. But assertions that selective service was undemocratic were not very persuasive to Congress which declared that "in a free society the obligations and privileges of military training and service should be shared generally in accordance with a fair and just system of selective compulsory military training and service." The burden is uneven in the sense that not all eligible are called; but total war is not limited to military activity, and a principal object

¹⁰ 86 Cong. Rec. 10220; see also, p. 10473.

¹¹ See Senator Norris's eloquent address, *ibid.*, pp. 10113-5.

of selective service is to ensure that "each man may serve in the capacity where he is most effective." Opponents of the draft predicted also that its enactment would usher in an era of totalitarianism at home. Some thought it was dictatorship itself, others that it was only a step toward that dreaded outcome: "'Men do not jump halfway down Niagara Falls.'" They feared that conscription would be perpetuated by economic interests dependent upon mass armies and by the "military psychology" it would generate; and that military politics would become a menace since military men would cease to be a small proportion of the voters and would become "the whole works." They admitted that a huge professional army would be more dangerous to democracy but argued that it was not necessary and that even a citizen army would be controlled by the Chief Executive, and by military authorities to whom fascist tendencies were imputed. Conscription, they said, would pass beyond military needs and embrace wealth, industry, and everything else, while discrimination in deferments and use of the Army in industrial disputes would be a constant threat to labor rights. Finally, it was feared that large reserves would constitute a standing invitation to aggression: "The Army generals who operate the machine will not want it to remain idle," while the Government would be tempted to reckless diplomacy, and "imperialistic economic interests" would be encouraged to press it to rescue their investments. To such fears and assertions it was difficult to make persuasive reply except by denials; the observation that there is no certain correlation between conscription and dictatorship—if they went together in Germany they did not in Switzerland and England; the belief that the danger to democracy was less from a citizen army than from a professional force of similar dimensions; and resignation to the lesser evil: if the nation remained unprepared to resist aggression it would experience totalitarianism imposed from without.

Over questions such as these there was much soul-searching and many supported the measure "very reluctantly, and with a heavy heart." It was "very easy to make . . . appropriations"; but to disrupt lives was a more delicate business, especially since "we Senators and Representatives are always desirous of pleasing our constituents, particularly at election time." This desire and the obligation to provide for the common defense were not necessarily incompatible, as the 1940 ballot returns indicated: supporters of selective service fared no worse than

opponents;¹² but November's happy outcome still was in the realm of prophecy when September's decisions were being reached. Endorsement of the draft by Wendell Willkie, the Republican presidential candidate, reduced some of the opposition to the measure in his party, but probably it was of greater importance among Democrats for whom it seemed to remove a potential campaign issue. Nevertheless, the votes in Congress¹³ had a strong partisan and sectional pattern:

¹² Seventy-five new Representatives in the 77th Congress filled five seats vacant at the time of the vote on selective service, and replaced nine Members who did not vote and one who answered "present" on the House bill, and 32 who voted for and 28 who voted against it. The slight shift of votes on the conference report does not materially alter the results. Thirty of the 32 Senators up for reelection in 1940 voted on the Senate bill; five of the 11 voting against it were not reelected, four of the 19 voting for it were not returned to the Senate. Senators whose terms expired in 1943 divided 8 against, 23 for, the Senate bill; 28 whose terms expired in 1945 voted 16 for, 12 against, it.

¹³ The votes on the bill of each House are presented because the vote on the conference report was less complete, although the line-up was substantially the same. Data in the table and in note 12 were compiled from the *Journals* of the House (pp. 924, 955-6) and Senate (pp. 593-4, 670), 76th Cong., 2d and 3d sessions, and the *Congressional Directory*, 76th Cong., 3d sess., June 1940, and 77th Cong., 1st sess., January 1941.

VOTES ON SELECTIVE SERVICE¹⁴

STATE	HOUSE BILL					SENATE BILL				
	For		Against			For		Against		
	Dem.	Rep.	Dem.	Rep.	Other	Dem.	Rep.	Dem.	Rep.	Other
Alabama.....	8	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..
Arizona.....	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..
Arkansas.....	6	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..
California.....	10	4	2	3	..	..	..	1	1	..
Colorado.....	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..
Connecticut.....	1	3	1	1	..	1	..	..	1	..
Delaware.....	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	1	..
Florida.....	4	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..
Georgia.....	9	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..
Idaho.....	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	1	1	..
Illinois.....	13	..	2	10	..	2	..	..	..	..
Indiana.....	2	..	3	7	..	1	..	1	..	..
Iowa.....	1	..	1	7	..	1	..	..	..	..
Kansas.....	1	..	..	6	..	..	..	..	1	..
Kentucky.....	7	..	..	1	..	2	..	..	..	..
Louisiana.....	7	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..
Maine.....	..	2	..	1	..	..	2	..	..	..
Maryland.....	6	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..
Massachusetts.....	5	9	..	1	..	..	1	1	..	..
Michigan.....	..	..	5	12	..	..	..	1	1	..
Minnesota.....	..	1	1	6	1 F.L.	..	..	..	..	2 F.L.
Mississippi.....	6	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
Missouri.....	8	..	4	1	..	1	..	1	..	..
Montana.....	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	2	..	..
Nebraska.....	1	..	1	3	..	1	..	..	..	1 Ind.
Nevada.....	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..
New Hampshire.....	..	2	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..
New Jersey.....	2	7	..	3	..	1	1	..	..	..
New Mexico.....	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..
New York.....	23	15	1	4	1 A.L.	2	..	..	..	..
North Carolina.....	11	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..
North Dakota.....	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	1	..
Ohio.....	3	..	5	16	..	..	..	1	1	..
Oklahoma.....	9	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..
Oregon.....	1	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Pennsylvania.....	14	5	1	13	..	1	..	..	1	..
Rhode Island.....	..	1	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..
South Carolina.....	6	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..
South Dakota.....	..	..	..	2	..	..	1	1	..	..
Tennessee.....	7	..	..	2	..	2	..	..	..	..
Texas.....	19	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..
Utah.....	1	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..
Vermont.....	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
Virginia.....	9	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..
Washington.....	1	..	4	..	..	1	..	1	..	..
West Virginia.....	5	..	..	1	..	1	..	1	..	..
Wisconsin.....	..	..	..	7	2 Pr.	..	..	..	1	1 Pr.
Wyoming.....	..	1	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..
TOTALS.....	211	52	33	112	4	50	8	17	10	4

¹⁴ On the content of this and later legislation see "Selective Service Policy 1940-1942,"
4 Journal of Politics 201-226, May 1942.

The Contemporary Southern Regional Novel as a Factor in Regional Sociology*

ANNA GREENE SMITH
Louisiana Polytechnic Institute

1. PERSPECTIVE

From the point of view of the sociologist art performs the invaluable service of giving insight into the sentiments and attitudes of societies in a way no other record is capable of doing. Every kind of art expression reveals the influence of the social experiences and ideas characteristic of a people or a period of time. Literature is the most extensive and revealing of these arts and in the main is extremely sensitive to social conditions. From the proverb and the folk tale of the savage to the modern novel we easily trace the effects of social life upon literature.

Into the fiction of a period more than into any form of writing are woven the contemporary ideas and beliefs of that period. The multitudinous currents of today's public life flow through our novels; modern psychology, social theory, political philosophy are all found there. Indeed, American literature at present seems almost captive to the intense interest in social experience characteristic of our time.

Since the sociologist and the novelist have much in common, sympathetic ties should exist between them, although each must function in accordance with his special purpose. Both seek truth and both take as their realm the province of human experience. The sociologist seeks to explain man in the world as a person in interaction with others; the novelist uses man and his experiences as the theme for literature and endeavors to communicate to the reader his intense interest in human experience for its own sake. Both the sociologist and the novelist contribute to life the awareness of life itself.

There is a vital difference, however, in the way in which each must record the things he sees. The sociologist deals directly with life in its varied cultural manifestations; but the artist knows that literature is

* This paper was read before the annual meeting of the Southwestern Sociological Society in Dallas April 3-4, 1942.

not life. Literature is the artistic communication of the life reflected in the mirror which the artist holds up to human existence, to reveal to us by well-developed plot or finely drawn characters the story of man, his joys and his sorrows, his aspirations and his struggles.

It is when the novelist forgets his function and attempts to write primarily as a social scientist that he produces work which is acceptable to neither group. Elizabeth Nitchie in *The Criticism of Literature* has said:

The novels that are written to effect social or political reform, whether they take the shape of direct presentation of the existing evils or of utopian schemes for an ideal future state, will not all continue to live and to be read after enthusiasm for the cause they represent has died away. . . . If the author has become so obsessed by his idea that he warps story and character to fit it, he fails to attain the balance necessary for true art.¹

For our convenience the several terms in the first part of the title of this paper, "The Contemporary Southern Regional Novel," should be defined at the beginning of this discussion. To write about the contemporary novel presents difficulties, because in a time of rapid change it is hard to tell sometimes what is contemporary. A suitable limitation for us to accept for the contemporary novel should be that the years after the World War I mark our entrance into this field. Most literary writers use this definitive marking on account of the significant changes which the novel and society were undergoing shortly after the war.

Our next step is to define what we mean by a Southern book. Dr. Charles Lee Lewis, in *The Southern Literary Messenger*, April, 1941, states:

In the first place, a book should not be classified as Southern because of its contents or subject matter alone; that is, merely because it treats of Southern history, people or problems, social or otherwise. . . . If this were true we should be forced to call Hawthorne's *Marble Faun* an Italian book and Ernest Hemingway's *For Whom the Bell Tolls* Spanish.

In the second place, a book need not necessarily be classified as Southern even though its author was born in the South. A writer may change his nationality legally, or expatriate himself so long that his whole philosophy of life may become different from his homeland. . . .

What then are some of the positive characteristics of a Southern book? By implication they are fairly clear. . . . A Southern book can be written only by an author whose roots are in the South. If not Southern by birth he must have lived

¹ Nitchie, Elizabeth, *The Criticism of Literature*, New York: The Macmillan Co., 1928, p. 252.

in the South long enough to have become well acquainted with its history and its traditions; long enough to understand sympathetically the way of life of its people, both black and white.

For the term regional novel there are numerous interpretations. Robert Penn Warren states in a negative fashion his beliefs concerning regional fiction:

1. Regionalism is not quaintness and local color and folklore, for these things when separated from a functional idea are merely the titillation of the reader's sentimentality or snobbishness. . . .

2. Regionalism based on the literary exploitation of a race or society that has no cultural continuity with our own tends to be false or precious. It is touristic regionalism. . . .

3. Regionalism does not necessarily imply an emphasis on the primitive or underprivileged character. . . . There is a literature of false primitivism as well as the literature of superficial sophistication.

4. Regionalism does not mean that a writer should relinquish any resource of speculation or expression that he has managed to achieve.

5. Regionalism does not mean that a literature is tied to its region for appreciation. . . . It does not imply in any way a relaxing of critical standards.

6. Even literary regionalism is more than a literary matter and is not even primarily a literary matter. . . . The danger in regionalism lies in its last syllable, in the *ism*'. As a fad it is meaningless.²

The regional novel, then, is one which recognizes the fundamental fact of the social and economic variety of people; a variety in occupation and physical background, speech and customs, tradition and habits of mind in the various regions of our vast land. The qualities that make for good regional fiction, and beyond that for fiction of any kind, are a true, sympathetic and understanding interest in people, and an integrity which gives the artist a vision that is whole, steady, and clear. The good regional novelist recognizes that underneath the differences human nature is much the same.

2. ORIGINS OF THE GENERAL REGIONAL MOVEMENT AND OF LITERARY REGIONALISM

Important relations have existed between regionalism as a literary movement and the general regional movement which is today especially strong in the Southeast and the Southwest. The literary movement has been a factor, influencing and influenced by the general regional movement.

² Warren, Robert Penn, "Some Don'ts for Literary Regionalists," *American Review*, Dec. 1936, pp. 244-245.

A review of the literature of economics, history, political science, and ecology shows a surprising amount of discussion of phenomena which are of a regional nature without being so labelled. But in sociology and geography the regional approach has been stressed by various scholars within fairly recent years. Although Sumner and Ward both used the idea of regional differences and built some of their studies on such framework, it is to Giddings that we look for the first clear delineation of the notion. In his idea of the sustenance field which feeds us, stimulates us by holding groups of persons together, and thereby encourages them to form social organizations, he clearly foreshadows regionalism as it has been developed primarily at the University of North Carolina by Odum and his associates. However, that is not the only source from which the idea has come. From France, the viewpoint of Frederic Le Play that the nature of the place determines the sort of economic activity in which it will be engaged, and that the economic activity in its turn will set the social pattern to be found has been influential. The Le Play formula of "Place, Work, Folk" was adopted in England and used by Patrick Geddes and others as the basis for numerous regional studies. C. A. Dawson and Lewis Mumford have done much to popularize the regional approach among American thinkers.

The idea of regionalism in literature is, also, not new. Thomas Hardy was a great British regionalist with his intensive study of a little area in Sussex scarcely fifty miles square. The great classics of American fiction, the best works of Hawthorne, Melville, Mark Twain are something else before they are American. Not in English fiction is there a more faithful representation of the life of the small provincial family than the novels of Jane Austin. Her "little bits of ivory" on which she worked "with so fine a brush" are distinctly regional in character. They are fine regional novels because the author reached behind the surface to the universal truth of human experience and behavior.

3. MOVEMENT OF REVOLT

Both the literary movement and the general regional movement have been revolutionary; they have been movements of protests and revolt. The historic development of regional movements is a process which generally begins with a dynamic emotional urge springing out of a sense of frustration on one hand and a renewed vision of life on the other. This new urge is expressed in the literature of the waking region, many

times in poetry and in drama which utilize folk material. Only at a later stage does a regional movement usually receive a rationale. Then it is that the region turns to its agriculture, betterment of the social and economic conditions of its people, and to the establishment of centers of learning and culture.

The new generation of Southern writers who began to make themselves heard in the twenties were in revolt against many things; the stereotyped fiction of the commercial magazines, the outworn romanticism of Southern literature with its sentimentality and polite sham, and generally against the ideals of the new industrial order. The prevailing mood of literature was that of skepticism and dissatisfaction. The impact of science was being felt by the large reading public which was becoming fully aware of the results of scientific research. Especially noteworthy were the effects of works dealing with psychology, the Freudian and Watsonian concepts of behavior. Realistic and naturalistic writers and militant social critics stormed the artistic strongholds of the country and assumed important positions. Repudiation of tradition thus became a common occurrence. Many examined the whole economic and social structure and found little to their liking. They saw in modern man, not a captain of his soul, but a poor bedeviled creature, a victim of environment and of himself.

The outspoken analysts of society had, however, among them a second class of realists, less pessimistic in outlook and more selective in the choice of detail. To this second group belongs Ellen Glasgow, pioneer in the movement toward realism, who found through her novels a hearing more easily than the rest, although it was not until 1925 with the publication of *Barren Ground* that she was fully discovered by the New York critics. Another member of this group, James Branch Cabell, in *The Rivet in Grandfather's Neck* did not treat kindly of the Southern ideals. Magazines, too, were speaking their minds. In 1921 the *Double Dealer* wrote concerning Southern letters, "We are sick to the death of treacly sentimentalities. . . . The old traditions are no more. New peoples, customs prevail. . . . We have our Main Street here as elsewhere." Others with clearer insight believed that we could make a great future not by copying the past, but by lighting again and again our fresh torches in the flames of the old.

Throughout the twenties this movement in Southern regional literature showed tendencies of critical realism, although some few writers,

such as Stark Young, continued in the former romantic school. Much of the work was of a conscious type and the authors tended to criticize too much or to romanticize too much. This critical tendency continued with little abatement in various harsh or agitated studies of Southern life. A notable example was Thomas Wolfe's *Look Homeward Angel*, a book of chaotic abundance which strangely mingled the angry with the sentimental, the grand with the petty. The period brought forth a tentative unformulated answer to the question of divided loyalties. Many seemed to think that they could not acknowledge their obligation to art without at the same time repudiating the Southern past and accepting the progressive view toward the Southern present.

The leadership of the postwar generation, however, was disputed by a still younger body of authors. The newcomers viewed with disapproval the naive rebelliousness of their immediate predecessors and the crudity of much of their writing; and although among the younger writers there were experimenters and dissatisfied minds in plenty, on the whole they stood for greater restraint, more conscious attention to the problems of literary art, and a recognition of the value of positive beliefs about both art and life. Some of this group were strongly influenced by the Agrarian Movement and the publication of *I'll Take My Stand*. Others were influenced by the work of such historians as U. B. Phillips and by such biographers as Douglas Freeman, who were recovering as accurate many of the points which the earlier writers had rejected. This is the group of novelists who have paralleled in their writings much of the later phases of the regional movement.

In the thirties the arts, whether encouraged at home or not, were working in alliance with the spirit of the times and with the ill-defined social tendencies of the region to which they felt irresistibly drawn. Donald Davidson states the condition well when he says, "Imbued with as much of the prophetic impulse as rebelliousness they began here and there in the thirties to declare themselves advocates of regionalism. What they spoke of at first was their distrust of borrowed attitudes. They wanted to write of Gopher Prairie in terms of itself, not in terms of what New York might think of Gopher Prairie."⁸ These writers fought against the danger of losing their identity, of becoming modernistic at the expense of being Southern or Western, even while they knew how impossible it was to cut themselves off from the art and

⁸ Davidson, Donald, *The Attack on Leviathan*. Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1938, p. 89.

thought of the nation. They were reacting against the hard driving megalopolis and the monopoly it held over the hinterlands.

They were rebelling against the policies of the publishing companies of New York, which hampered a writer's creative expression and which exploited primitivistic Southern literature as a fad. They were asking if the great city had the right to artistic and cultural sovereignty over the whole nation. Contemporary Southern literature had been financed and interpreted from the North, and to please New York an author must come with accolade of the popular metropolitan critics. To produce a best seller a writer from the South must many times appeal to the jaded palates of the metropolitan masses through his use of thrill, novelty, or exploitation of a primitive group.

In the Southwest and the Southeast the artist was beginning to root himself deep in the tradition of his region. He was asking, "Does the region provide, or promise to provide a locus, physical and spiritual, in which association might displace dissociation and thus furnish within the region the cultural assumption often lacking in modern art?"⁴ If this course was possible, there was, the author believed, a defense to be made on the economic and social front as well as on the artistic. Thus the regional literature began to reflect the spirit back of the other phases of the regional movement.

4. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PEOPLE

The significance of the people, the reality of realities, has been emphasized by both literary regionalism and the general movement. Holding the people as the basic reality of all society and social study there is need to emphasize continually the theoretical significance of the folk and the region in the development of society. The primary significance of the folk lies in the fact that the ways of the folk are largely determinative in any society since they tend to interpret actual situations in terms of the folk perspective, or the mores. And since the folk cultures vary, the interpretation placed on facts will vary from region to region and from culture to culture.

The literary regional movement has also been a factor in this emphasis on the people and their mores. Across the pages of contemporary novels moves the procession of people from many strata of society. The mountaineer, the tenant farmer, the plantation owner, the Negro, the shanty boat dweller, the mill worker, the inhabitants of the hammock

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 86.

country of Florida, and the exotic groups which dwell along the Gulf coast; all these are figuring large in our novels of today.

As one would expect, most of the stories that have dealt with these people have been about rural life. There are, however, some exceptions. The problems of the proletariat class are revealed in Olive Tilford Dargan's *Call Home the Heart* with its setting in Gastonia, N. C., Thomas Rowan's *Black Earth*, a story of an Alabama mining area, and Grace Lumpkin's *To Make My Bread*.

Looking back at some of the mountain peaks in the development of this rural fiction Ellen Glasgow's *Barren Ground* merits our attention. In a realistic and sustained novel Miss Glasgow turned to an outworn Virginia farm for her locale and built her woman farmer out of fairly humble but substantial middle class people.

T. S. Stribling's *Teetallow* and *The Forge* appeared in the twenties, uncheerful reports of rural conditions, documents as much as stories. Miss Glasgow had looked with pitying disapproval upon sloth and ignorance; Stribling looked with sardonic gusto upon these qualities.

When Elizabeth Madox Roberts' *The Time of Man* appeared at this same period, equal praise awaited it, also. Reviewers seemed unaware that this book exalted precisely the same persons whom other writers had found dejected below all decent standards of civilization. To Miss Roberts the life of the poor white of the Kentucky mountain region was rich in folkways that civilized man could only envy and the idiom of the poor white's speech became the idiom of her own beautiful prose. Mariston Chapman, also, developed the theme of mountain life, as did James Still and, later, Jesse Stuart.

Degeneration has been the theme of some of the Southern rural novels. Erskine Caldwell's *Tobacco Road* and the novels of William Faulkner take their place with those who are striving to reflect life in realistic, often naturalistic manner. Interesting to our sociology field as case studies of sordidness and weakness, one wonders if these novels would measure up to the criteria set at the first of this paper.

Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings has interpreted the life of the dwellers in the hammock country of Florida. Her book, *The Yearling*, is a beautifully done picture of the problems of these people who face life with the initiative and courage of our pioneers of old.

"As in our thinking generally," says Caroline Sherman, agricultural economist, "the problems and effects of land tenure status underlie the majority of the rural novels of the later years of the thirties. One might

almost say that a new school of fiction has been created through the need and determination of all classes."⁸ In quick succession book after book has been added to this tenure shelf. There is Paul Green's *This Body the Earth*, a fictional picture of the longing for land by a man and boy who can never possess it. One of the most outstanding books dealing with love of the land has been John Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath*, a powerful social document in fiction form dealing with the dispossessed tenants who migrate to California.

Sharecropping is the background for the fiction of Charles W. Lee, a Negro writer, in his *River George*, the story of a large plantation in western Tennessee, and of Annette Heard's *Return Not Again*, a novel of the "peckerwoods" who are peculiar to the river country below Memphis.

At least two other books stand out boldly. One is *Land Without Moses* by Charles Munz and the other is Harry Harrison Kroll's *I Was A Sharecropper*. The first deals with the disintegration of a normal boy of some promise in the course of his baffling struggle toward improvement. Mr. Kroll's book partakes more of biography and autobiography than of fiction, which is true of many rural novels. This quality frequently gives them their value as social and economic documents and makes them important to economic and agricultural workers in survey fields, as well as to students in the class rooms and to sociologists.

In the diverse group of folks that the novelists are writing about the Negro holds an important place. The black man has been rediscovered by the literary regionalists. In 1922 T. S. Stribling's *Birthright* appeared, first of a long series of Southern novels that seemed to deal with the old subject in new terms. Its theme was the defeat of a Harvard educated Negro who came back to the South to uplift his own people. The Negro, everybody began to say, was a human being and not a mere, "Yes, Massa," figure. The story of *Birthright* was of the struggles and disappointments in Negro life itself, with its realistic, humorous, pathetic background.

The new field was soon being cultivated by an active group of writers who discovered phases of Negro life that Thomas Nelson Page might have known but did not care to put into print. Du Bose Heyward's *Porgy* in 1925 was the first great popular success. Julia Peterkin in *Black April* and *Green Thursday* brought into view the Negro of Blue

⁸ Sherman, Caroline, "Farm Life Fiction in the South," *The Southern Literary Messenger*, March 1939, p. 208.

Brook Plantation, in reality Mrs. Peterkin's plantation, Lang Syne, near Charleston, S. C. The books are rick in folklore of the isolated rural Negroes.

Paul Green's various stories followed the modern rather than the traditional rendering of Negro life. Although the works were deserving, their popularity might have been less instantaneous if the New Negro had not about this time captured the attention of New York. So great was the preoccupation of the critics that they failed to notice that Roark Bradford in his *This Side of Jordan* and *Kingdom Coming* returned quietly to the older tradition much closer to the usual Southern view of the Negro.

Present day novelists are writing of the Negro from both realistic and romantic viewpoints. Lyle Saxon in his *Children of Strangers* gives us the mulatto near Natchitoches, Louisiana, and although his treatment of plantation life is somewhat romanticized, he draws a realistic picture of the problems of miscegenation.

The Southern Negro has also begun to write about himself. This age has seen the Negro novel advance in strength and technique. Zora Neale Hurston, a Florida Negro who studied anthropology with Dr. Frank Boas, has given us two novels of the Florida blacks, *Jonah's Gourd Vine* and *Their Eyes Were Watching God*. She has shown an ease of style and trueness of character which make all her novels noteworthy. Arna Bontemps, Louisiana writer, is important for a book concerning rural life, *God Sends Sunday*.

The outstanding Negro writer, Richard Wright, author of *Native Son* was born on a plantation near Natchez, Mississippi, but he left the South when he was seventeen years of age. Although this book does not show the regional characteristics which his later short stories reveal, it is a social document of his race and important for us.

The last few years have witnessed a tendency of the Southern regional novel, chiefly rural in character, to return to a romantic manner of treatment and to the traditions of the past. The historical novel has again become important and has a decidedly regional flavor. Some of the newer historical novels are showing this commendable feature; a vast amount of research, which lends the feeling of authenticity to the novel and which is especially pleasing to the social scientists. Examples of the tendency since the memorable *Gone With the Wind* are: Frances Griswold's *A Sea Island Lady*; Willa Cather's *Sapphira and the Slave Girl*; Frances Gaither's *Follow the Drinking Gourd*; Laura Krey's *On*

the Long Tide and *And Tell of Time*; and Nathan Schachner's *By the Dim Lamps*.

The regional novel has succeeded in emphasizing the people and has discovered a usable past, a tradition into which writers may sink their roots.

5. LOOKING TOWARD NATIONALISM

Both the general regional movement and literary regionalism look toward nationalism as well as toward regionalism. Regionalism has grown up as a result of men's efforts to live together and to supply common needs; it offers an escape from standardization which would lead to mediocrity. At the same time it opposes the forces of disruption which would deny the necessity for peace and cooperation with one's neighbors.

Regionalism stresses the importance of the recognition that strength and union may be found in diversity and difference. The regional approach views a given society as a whole and demands that the planner see the region as a whole. "In a period when the uniformities of the machine civilization were being overstressed," states Odum in his *American Social Problems*, "regionalism served to emphasize compensatory elements above all those differences that arise out of geographic, historic, and cultural peculiarities. . . . In its acceptance of natural diversity as well as natural associations; in its recognition of the region as a permanent sphere of cultural influence and as a center of economic activities, as well as an implicit fact . . . here lies the vital common element in the regional movement."⁶

The literary regional movement has turned more and more toward this view. To many writers it has seemed that the usable past of America was not destroyed but only threatened; it was embodied in and deeply interwoven with the regional differentiation that actually existed.

But what is the relationship of regional literature to national literature? Rose Lane Wilder in *The Southern Literary Messenger* has said that regional writing is writing that seems valuable as the only authentic basis for a genuine national literature rooted in American soil and therefore separated from European sources.⁷ Comparable to this idea is the statement by Donald Davidson, "It is a kind of special plead-

⁶ Odum, Howard, *American Social Problems*, New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1939, p. 135.

⁷ Wilder, Rose Lane, "Regional Writing for a National Literature," *The Southern Literary Messenger*, March, 1939, p. 210.

ing to pick one writer from a region and say, 'This is a regionalist.' and of another writer of the same region say, 'But this is a nationalist.' We must deal with them together in their regions if we are to talk sense. We cannot define regionalism unless at the same time we define nationalism. The two are supplementary aspects of the same thing."⁸ Thus national literature is a compound of the regional impulses, not hostile to them "but embracing them and living in them as the roots, branch and flower of its being."⁹

For some time to come American literature will not represent a uniform culture but will be conditioned by the varied regional cultures which give it strength. This tendency is a welcome one, for out of its complexity we draw additional vitality. Regionalism offers the artist the opportunity to seek his own means of achieving his purpose, and enables him to root himself deeply in an accepted tradition, vital among his own people. The artist will not have to become a Southerner as some of the regionalists have had to do; he will be a Southerner. If we are to have an American art at all it implies this condition; that the regions must develop their arts as they develop their people and their ways of life.

Thus we see that from the literature of a region can be reconstructed a description of communities and the peoples of those communities; their habits of living, manners of thinking, life problems, and struggles. Southern regional literature has developed along with other phases of the regional movement and has placed its emphasis on the people and their ways of life. It is rooting itself in the vital tradition of the past, but it looks forward to the present and the future, and it believes that in regionalism there is a diversity which leads to national strength.

⁸ Davidson, Donald, *The Attack on Leviathan*, Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1938, p. 96.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 96.

English Film Censorship During the Munich Crisis

DELL G. HITCHNER
Coe College

Among the rumbling criticisms the English people have directed at their political leadership and its conduct of the war are those which arise from the lack of news. True, the proposition is now fairly well settled that in wartime the public can be legitimately denied information that might obstruct the national effort or assist the enemy. But there is still controversy over exactly what news must be defined as coming within that limitation.

The reaching of a proper basis of relations between the English people and their government for the dissemination of news is a problem still unsolved. The government's policy of "economy in information" about the war effort has, in the past, retarded instead of strengthening the development of high morale. Several hot debates in Commons, followed by shake-ups in the Ministry of Information, the B.B.C., and the cabinet itself, have still not satisfied critics who insist that maximization of the war effort can be achieved only when inadequacies in the conception and execution of foreign policies and military preparations are exposed.

It will be some time before the whole story of the handling of these matters is unfolded. Meanwhile, there is evidence to show that the government's ineptitude in handling its public relations and its failure fully to let the English people know the actual state of affairs arise from precedents unfortunately set several years ago by the Conservative ministry of Neville Chamberlain. The bald and partly successful attempts to censor the newsreels at that time illuminates the poverty of judgment that may well be the cause of the shortsightedness exhibited by officials in power.

The censorship of cinematographic films has been conducted since 1912 primarily by a trade agency, the British Board of Film Censors. In addition to this self-censorship by the industry, local governments may prohibit the showing of films under the conditions of licenses which they grant. Like that of the stage, the film censorship is primarily concerned with preventing influences which might be subversive of the

community's morals. Presumably, therefore, political considerations should have no place in the determination of what films may be publicly exhibited; and, in fact, the government has no authority in peacetime to exert a political censorship.

As early as 1935, some members of the House of Commons complained that a film had been refused a license because of the fear that Fascists might cause a disturbance at its performance, though it otherwise infringed no rules of the Board of Censors.¹ During the same year, the Board of Censors cut scenes from the *March of Time* newsreel showing earlier Nazi persecution of Jews, with the explanation that it was unnecessary to remind people of the matter. The Board cut scenes from the same company's film on Ethiopia picturing British armed forces, naval guns, troops, and officers toasting the king. From another *March of Time* on the French "Croix de Feu" organization, the Board deleted all indications that the swindler Alexandre Stavisky was protected by high officials of the French government, and that the Paris riots of 1934 resulted in several deaths.² The censor also made cuts in the *March of Time* film of 1936 showing troopships in the Mediterranean.³ It is difficult not to believe, considering later developments, that these steps were officially inspired. It should be noted also that these deletions could not have been explained as the British government's attempt to protect military information, since the films were produced by an American company and were widely shown outside England in uncensored form.

A peace film, produced by the League of Nations Union in 1936, was refused a license on the ground that it dealt with a controversial subject. Protest in the newspapers, however, forced the Board of Censors to relent. The censors banned thereafter two more *March of Time* newsreels, one entitled "The Threat to Gibraltar," showing Fascist intervention in the Mediterranean during the Spanish civil war, and the film called "Arms and the League." Other newsreels produced by the same company and which suffered excisions were "Crisis in Algeria," "Inside Nazi Germany," and "Nazi Conquest No. 1 (Austria)."⁴

An epidemic of political censorship took place in 1937 and 1938 when the international situation became strained. A film concerning life

¹ 299 *House of Commons Debates*, 5th series, 2069.

² "No Particular Taste," *Time Magazine* (Dec. 9, 1935), Vol. 26, p. 26.

³ "Celluloid Censorship," *ibid.* (June 1, 1936), Vol. 27, pp. 40-41.

⁴ 342 *H. C. Deb.* 5s., 1272.

in Czechoslovakia, showing pictures of President Benes and various other incidents, was withdrawn from circulation and cut down, according to a member of Parliament, because "it presented a picture of Czechoslovakia which was quite different from that which the government wished the people of this country to believe."⁵ Another charge made in the House of Commons, based on information in the newspapers, was that a film entitled "The Relief of Lucknow" had been abandoned while in production. The Board of Censors had stated that as a result of objection by the India Office there was no hope of its being licensed.⁶ Portions of the film "Spanish Earth" were deleted because they suggested that Germany and Italy were intervening in Spain. "Britain's Dilemma," a film based upon events in Europe, Manchuria, Ethiopia, Spain, and China, was heavily cut by the censors and renamed "Britain and Peace." Such a film, which attempted to show that the government's foreign policies had suffered reversals, was objectionable, said critics of the government, while no restraint was placed upon a film entitled "Chamberlain the Peacemaker," giving another side of the question.⁷

The most obvious occasion of governmental interference with the newsreels took place during the Czechoslovakian crisis of September, 1938. A *Paramount News* film, showing some scenes of Czechoslovakia, was accompanied with commentaries by Wickham Steed, a former editor of the *London Times*, and A. J. Cummings, the political editor of the *London News Chronicle*. A portion of Steed's dialogue was as follows:

"Has England surrendered? Who is 'England'?—the government or Parliament or the people. The British Parliament has not surrendered for it has not been convened, and still less have the British people. Our government, together with that of France, is trying to make a present to Hitler—for use against us when he may think the time has come—of the 3,000,000 men and the thousands of airplanes that he would need to overcome Czechoslovak resistance. Hitler does not want to fight—oh, no! He only wants to get without fighting more than he would be able to get by fighting. And we seem to be helping him to get it. And all this because British and French Ministers feared to take a risk when they could have taken it successfully and believed they could diminish the risk by helping Hitler to gain a triumph—when he was at his wit's end—instead of standing up to him."

⁵ 339 *H. C. Deb.* 5s., 457.

⁶ 342 *H. C. Deb.* 5s., 1271.

⁷ "Politics and Films," *Civil Liberty* (May, 1939), pp. 1-2; cf. *Manchester Guardian Weekly* (December 9, 1938), p. 476.

Cummings' statement in the same film, which also expressed an anti-appeasement view of Prime Minister Chamberlain's policy, was:

"The fact is our statesmen have been guilty of what I think is a piece of yellow diplomacy. If in good time we had made a joint declaration with France and with Russia making clear our intentions, and stating emphatically and in express terms that we would prevent the invasion of Czechoslovakia, I'm certain that Hitler would not have faced that formidable combination. If we were not prepared to go to the extreme limit we should certainly not have engaged in a game of bluff with the finest poker player in Europe."⁸

The film containing these statements was issued on the evening of September 21. On September 22, a telegram was sent by British *Paramount News* to all its theaters saying:

"Please delete Wickham Steed and A. J. Cummings' speeches from today's *Paramount News*. We have been officially requested to do so."

The company later denied that it had been "officially" requested to withdraw the film, but claimed it had done so on its own initiative.⁹ The denial was in vain, however, because the Chancellor of the Exchequer later admitted the government's interference. On November 23, Mr. Mander, a Liberal member of the House of Commons, asked the Prime Minister:

"Why were representations recently made by His Majesty's Government to the American Embassy for the withdrawal from a Paramount newsreel of items contributed by Mr. Wickham Steed and Mr. A. J. Cummings?"

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir John Simon, gave the following reply:

"His Majesty's Government considered that certain passages in the newsreel referred to, which was being shown at the time of the Prime Minister's conversations with Herr Hitler at Godesberg, might have a prejudicial effect upon the negotiations. The Ambassador of the United States, I understand, thought it right to communicate this consideration to a member of the Hays organization which customarily deals with matters of this kind and which brought it to the attention of Paramount News, who, from a sense of public duty in the general interest, decided to make certain excisions from the newsreel. . . . His Majesty's Government are grateful to the Ambassador of the United States, and I am glad that the Ambassador and ourselves were in complete accord."¹⁰

In subsequent questioning, the Prime Minister attempted to give the impression that no such incident took place, then finally admitted, on

⁸ 342 H. C. Deb. 5s., 1276-77.

⁹ 342 H. C. Deb. 5s., 1275.

¹⁰ 341 H. C. Deb. 5s., 1727-28.

December 1, that "The attention of the American Ambassador was drawn to certain items, and he was asked to look into the matter."¹¹

On December 7, Mr. Mander moved a vote in the House of Commons deploring the attempt of the government to set up a political censorship. The difficulties of the Home Secretary, Sir Samuel Hoare, attempting in the debate which followed both to deny the charge of censorship and at the same time to justify it, are apparent from the exchange of words which took place, and deserve quotation at some length:

Sir Samuel Hoare: . . . Let me deal with the story of the Paramount film. . . . Let hon. Members remember the actual date on which this incident took place. It was on 22nd September. It was brought to the notice of the Foreign Office on the morning of 22nd September that a newsreel was being exhibited, with two speeches, both of which the hon. Member for East Wolverhampton quoted this evening, made in connection with a film "Life in Czechoslovakia" and the incidents that were taking place in Czechoslovakia, . . . I ask any impartial Members who were in the House tonight, when the hon. Member for East Wolverhampton read extracts from those speeches, whether they were not the kind of speeches which would have inflamed the atmosphere at that particular moment.

Hon. Members: Where?

Mr. Montague: Does the right hon. Gentleman mean that speeches of that character must be censored, while all propaganda on the other side must be allowed to be shown? Why not censor the lot?

Sir Samuel Hoare: No, Sir. I certainly have no such meaning, as the hon. Member will see when I have finished dealing with this point. The Foreign Secretary was definitely of the opinion that it was undesirable that those speeches should be heard while the talks at Godesberg were actually in progress on that particular date, 22nd September. There was no general kind of censorship. It was his view, with reference to that film, during the time the talks were going on at Godesberg, that, while he did not wish to apply any pressure—and he did not apply any pressure—and there was no question of censorship, those speeches might compromise the chances of peace.

Mr. Mander: Defeat the Government's policy.

Sir Samuel Hoare: No, it had nothing to do with the Government's policy. I would ask hon. Members to believe me when I say—though I dare say the hon. Member for East Wolverhampton will not believe it—that on 22nd September, faced with one of the greatest crises that ever confronted the world, we were not thinking of the fortunes of the National Government. We were thinking of much graver issues.

Mr. Mander: Trying to get out of the mess you had got into.

Sir Samuel Hoare: Nothing of the kind. Accordingly, my right hon. Friend informed the American Ambassador of his views and asked him to look into the

¹¹ 342 *H. C. Deb.* 5s., 584.

question. The American Ambassador said he would do so and would communicate the Foreign Secretary's views to the managers of the Paramount Company and, on that, the managers of the Paramount Company withdrew that particular film, at that time. There was no censorship, there was no undue pressure.¹²

Sir Samuel then proceeded quite obligingly to reveal how the government exercised control over other films, though still protesting the thought of any attempt at censorship. Two years previously, the Secretary of State for India had been shown a film dealing with the Indian mutiny and was asked by the producers for his opinion of its suitability. The Secretary advised the promoters then that the film would create the worst kind of feeling. When the same official heard there was to be another Indian mutiny film, according to Sir Samuel: "he, very naturally, asked for information about this film and discussed the question with the Chairman of the Board of Film Censors. He made it quite clear that the responsibility was entirely on the shoulders of the Chairman of the Board of Film Censors and that if they decided that the film should go on, there was nothing that he could do or would do. But he did make it plain—and I believe it was the right course, and that any hon. Member here would take the same course—that to produce a film depicting scenes of the Indian Mutiny would be undesirable at this time. . . . The Chairman of the Board of Film Censors heard what my right hon. Friend said on the subject. He discussed the question with the promoters of the film, and the promoters of the film, so I understand, took the same view. . . ."¹³

Several conclusions may be drawn from the incidents described above. A censorship existed which prevented the showing of the scenes or the expressions of opinion critical of the foreign policy being followed at that time. The Board of Censors was useful as an unofficial body upon which the government could exert influence to control films in its own interest, and at the same time, avoid the odium which would be attached to an official censorship. Since the government imposed its censorship by influence instead of by statute, it could insist that none existed.

The conduct of the Conservative political leaders in attempting to prevent criticisms of the appeasement policy was indefensible—doubly so, considering its disastrous effect on England's situation in the months that followed. If the objection were raised that the newsreels do not

¹² 342 *H. C. Deb.* 5s, 1304-06.

¹³ 342 *H. C. Deb.* 5s, 1306.

exert extensive influence on public opinion, it may be answered that the government apparently considered them of sufficient importance to warrant their restriction. While undue emphasis could perhaps be attached to any one of the above cases, it remains that their cumulative effect set an unwholesome precedent not wholly abandoned even yet—as government critics have frequently pointed out. Finally, it is evident that the English people, in this instance, were partially denied that highly-prized privilege of citizens of a democratic state, a share in the formulation of foreign policy. Certainly, the possible conclusion that the British government is unwilling to trust its own people is hardly flattering. There is little question that Chamberlain's cold disregard of freedom of expression in this matter prevented the marshalling of full British opinion against the dictators. Had it been otherwise, the government's policy might well have been stiffened much earlier, and those in power might have saved themselves much of the obloquy and distrust from which they now suffer.¹⁴

¹⁴ Anticipating the outbreak of war with Germany, Parliament passed the Emergency Powers (Defense) Act in August, 1939, and regulations were promulgated under it making it an offense to influence public opinion prejudicially "by means of any false statement, false document, or false report." (Reg. 39B, *Emergency Powers (Defense) Regulations*, 1939, S. R. & O., 1939, No. 1681.) The British Board of Film Censors now acts under instructions from the Ministry of Information. The film censorship, like that of newspapers, is on a voluntary basis; producers need not submit films for official approval, but if they violate the defense regulations they are, of course, subject to prosecution. No films may be exported, however, without being censored. (351 *H. C. Deb.* 5s., 896.)

The Permanent Solution for the Perennial Farm Problem

T. SWANN HARDING*

In agriculture as in industry science and technology have provided us with abundance, but we have not known how to use it. We spoke of agricultural surpluses not long ago as if they were liabilities rather than the assets of our civilization. We sought means of reducing farm production so that prices to farmers would not break irreparably. Once again our expertness in the physical and biological sciences was unmatched by our skill in social science.

Unless due provision is made for it by social and economic adjustments, technology complicates production, living conditions, distribution, trade, employment and prices. It gives us new machines, improved plants, better animals, advanced processes. The first Commissioner of Agriculture, Isaac Newton, said that agricultural science must enable the farmer to grow two blades of grass where one grew before. Agricultural science did this and more.

It made it possible for every citizen of this Nation to have all the agricultural products and commodities he needed and some luxuries besides. The standard of living should have risen rapidly. Yet such things did not happen and even farmers themselves were not only often ill-clothed and ill-housed but, to the extent of one-half, they were eating poor or only fair diets. It seems incredible but that is all we could manage to do with the vast potential sources of wealth scientific research had made accessible to us. Abundance sat on the doorstep; we would not invite it into the house.

In 1938, for instance, a survey was made of a hundred farm families in the southeast, all in low-income groups. Pellagra, rickets, and tuberculosis, diseases usually associated with faulty nutrition, were especially prevalent. At that time at least 700,000 farm families were trying to subsist on annual cash incomes of \$300 each, and half of those who failed to meet their financial obligations were undernourished or ill.

* Senior Information Specialist of the Department of Agriculture.

These people were not shiftless. Examination of 575 of them disclosed 1,373 ailments,—132 cases of child rickets alone. It was such people that the Farm Security Administration sought to rehabilitate by making what were essentially character loans, for there was no collateral. Sufficient was added to the loans to enable the family to pay for complete medical care in advance under a group plan. Many such families actually were rehabilitated at a total cost of less than \$75.

At that time two million farm families were on relief and three million more had shockingly low incomes. They were using the farm equipment of generations past, a technical inefficiency imposed by poverty. Naturally they could not compete with well-equipped farmers. That is why for the last decade about 90 percent of all farm products going to commercial markets have been supplied by 50 percent of the farms; the other 50 per cent received only 10 percent of the gross farm income.

But farms meanwhile tended to become bigger as they became more mechanized; little farms became smaller and poorer. As the larger farms were industrialized there was less and less work for tenants and sharecroppers. The introduction of tractors and four-row cultivators reduced the number of tenant farmers on one Delta plantation from 40 to a mere 24. Finally in 1939 our entire agricultural production at the existing levels of consumption could have been produced by 1,600,000 fewer workers than were required on farms in 1929. But farm population continued to increase, more especially in the 400 counties with the lowest living standards where a fifth of the people were on relief and required aid at a rate of at least \$200 each a year merely to keep alive.

Even in 1929 some 1,682,000 farm families had gross incomes under \$600 a year; in 1936 one and one-half million had incomes of \$250 or less a year. In some impoverished regions six out of every ten children had hookworm. Obviously such farm families could buy few products of industry. What had produced this condition?

The adoption of mechanization; improvements in seed, breeding stock, and cultural practices; drought, lost foreign markets, and soil erosion; the destruction of water resources—all combined to do it. In 1940 the total estimated farm unemployment from all causes was 1,638,000. Of this number 526,00 were attributed to farm-market changes, drought, erosion, mechanization, and changes in the size of

farms; the remainder was attributed to natural increase in the farm population.

Naturally this labor reservoir was tapped when the National Defense Program got under way, while the war has made still greater demands upon it. But what about the permanent state of these farmers after the war? The FSA has rehabilitated at least three quarters of a million such farm families and additional small loans to many more of them would enable them to produce a great deal of the increased foodstuffs we need for ourselves and our allies in the United Nations.

Past performance has shown that such carefully selected risks do repay in 80 percent of the cases. They also increase their net worth at a rate of from \$250 to \$300 per family within a very short time, while their production of home-produced food steps up at least a hundred percent, and is often more than tripled. That is because their activities are carefully supervised and planned. They adopt approved, scientific farm and home practices and become self-sufficient.

But three quarters of a million make only a drop in the bucket. Around 1939 we had from a million and a half to two million migratory farm workers. The annual incomes of such migrants averaged only about \$154 in Texas and \$574 in California, per family. Yet they were in the main native-born American citizens.

Nevertheless they had to follow the crops in rickety automobiles and to live undernourished in unsanitary surroundings. Their children usually went unschooled. Often they were young. They lived in cabins and makeshift camps and suffered from hunger, disease, and exposure, except insofar as the FSA could set up decent camps for a few of them. Often no school existed near by and if there was one the children of these people went unwelcomed. They even lacked the most rudimentary toilet facilities.

These migrants resulted from the abuse and distortion of scientific knowledge and technology. They were driven off the land by machines. They sought to work in specialty-crop production but lacked the protection unions afford industrial workers. Few of them could be reached by the FSA camps where they lived under democratic rule and paid ten cents a day into the camp fund. There they were fairly well housed and had decent sanitary facilities and medical clinics. Must we continue after the war to offer so many farm people only such a miserable existence?

On January 15, 1941, Secretary of Agriculture Wickard considered the plight of these people in an address at Lafayette, Indiana. At that time it appeared that our foreign agricultural market, upon which we usually depended to take the products of from 25 to 30 million acres, was gone for good. The trend of farm exports had been downward for 40 years; meanwhile technology had greatly increased farm production the world over and other nations were much more self-sufficient.

After the first open phase of the present Global War which ended in temporary armistice in 1918, we made gargantuan loans to Europe to enable Europeans to produce our goods. These loans, later repudiated, turned out to be unwilling gifts, whereupon a tariff war supervened and the doctrine of national self-sufficiency received great impetus. Because of our high tariff and the fact that our exchange was based on gold, we could not barter.

Agriculture went through a period of unplanned expansion and disorderly speculation between 1917 and 1920. The ordinary progress achieved in several generations was packed into a few brief years. But the conservation of soil and water was neglected; customary peacetime needs for farm products were forgotten; basic prices and credit conditions received little or no consideration. A fundamental derangement of our agricultural economy resulted.

For two years after the Global War was resumed in 1939, we pretended to believe that we could isolate ourselves from a conflict in a world which technology had bound together irrevocably. The struggle was inevitably destined to engulf us just as it had in 1917. Yet in January 1941 it looked as if we must prepare ourselves for lower agricultural exports than ever. That meant not only crop and acreage reduction but also increased diversification.

At that time there were two bales of cotton in the world for every one it seemed likely would be used and there were two billion bushels of wheat for which there appeared to be no market at all. Exports of tobacco, lard, and fruit to Europe had all but stopped. But Secretary Wickard insisted we must see to it that farmers driven off the land did not continue disadvantaged.

It was an actual fact, as Secretary Wallace had pointed out, that farmers had for years produced food and fiber for Americans at a 40 percent discount. We could not now simply shrug and leave farmers to their

own devices, Secretary Wickard continued in his address. We could not just say we shall always have the underfed with us and then walk off. It would be tragic normally and socially for us to do so because, in one way or another, all society was to blame for the plight of these people.

They must somehow be enabled to secure sufficient cash income to maintain decent living standards. That meant we must use the same ingenuity and foresight in putting technological developments to work that we had in discovering them. For an indispensable element in national defense was a well-fed, well-clothed, and well-housed rural population. We must clothe the naked and feed the hungry. We must bridge the gap between consumer wants and highly efficient production methods.

What this meant essentially was that consumption had somehow to be stimulated to keep pace with production. We needed technically efficient distribution methods. Already some methods of stimulating consumption had been devised and they worked well—the school-lunch, low-priced-milk, and food-stamp plans, for instance. But more than that would be required. Just then, however, our attention was diverted to the British Isles which called upon us for sufficient animal-protein foods to nourish one-fourth of their people, eleven million persons.

The Lend-Lease Law was passed. Hundreds of millions were set aside to buy food for the British; from 8 to 10 percent of our farm production became earmarked for this purpose. That meant that during a year Britain alone would require the products of from 25 to 27½ million American acres usually used for export commodities. Moreover the composition of the exports differed altogether from that of peacetime.

In 1942 Britain wanted 1½ billion pounds of pork and lard. If you stood hogs weighing 230 pounds each only 1½ feet apart, the animals required to fill this order would reach from the northernmost tip of North America to the southernmost tip of South America. The British wanted 5 billion pounds of milk, enough to fill 750 miles of railway tank cars, or a pipe a half-foot in diameter reaching around the earth at the Equator.

To produce that much milk we should step our total output up to 125 billion pounds in 1942 as compared with about 116½ billion pounds in 1941. This must be accomplished by careful culling of herds and by

feeding more grain to cows on pasture. The grain was already stored in the Ever Normal Granary from which even much wheat was released at corn prices to be sold for feed purposes. No increase in crop acreage was required by Britain's demands.

But here is another thought. If all citizens of the United States had as much milk, or its equivalent, as adequate food standards require, we alone should consume 140 billion pounds of milk a year. Yet we set a goal of only 125 billion pounds for 1942, which we may not achieve, and of which 5 billion pounds, or the equivalent in cheese, evaporated, and dry, must go to the British Isles.

Great Britain also wanted eggs, a half million dozen of them largely in the dried form, enough eggs to fill 378 miles of railway cars. She also wanted enough canned vegetables to fill 22 miles of railway cars and about 1¼ million tons of fresh fruit. As it turned out this was a preliminary order. Since then Britain has increased her requirements while other members of the United Nations also call upon us as we have pooled our resources with them.

In any case, for the first time in its history, the farm production of the entire United States was scientifically planned a year ahead by agricultural experts. Goals were set up for all essential farm commodities. Facilities had to be provided to enable farmers to attain these goals. Committees had to be appointed, information sent out, local committees formed, and arrangements made to assure farmers of sufficient mechanical equipment, labor, fertilizers, seed, and insecticides.

Thus the defense and, later, wartime program of the Department of Agriculture expanded enormously. Fortunately it had already developed highly efficient machinery for the control of production and was prepared also to act as an over-all planning agency and board of strategy. The plans went well and for some months it looked as if we should have no difficulty at all about food. More farsighted persons, however, realized from the start that involvement in the Global War would bring privations even in the food sector.

One result of the program was to bring into commercial production individuals and regions not formerly engaged in commercial farming. Hence plans had to be formulated for the shipment and utilization of seasonal surpluses and temporary gluts. So-called Victory Food Specials,

identifiable by a symbol, were set up and consumers have been tipped off to buy these in order to save food and to curtail the unnecessary use of canned foods and vegetables.

War in the Pacific has cut off important sources of fats, oils, and other essentials. Farm labor so long dammed up has been rapidly drained away. The shortage of tin has increased the difficulty of food preservation for shipment to our allies and our armed forces. We no longer have reason to feel that there is just bound to be enough food of every kind for everybody all the time. The transportation problem alone would render such complacency unwarranted.

Meanwhile our requirements for increased supplies of foods essential to the war effort have grown by leaps and bounds; they increase daily. Achievement of the 1942 production goals will, it is true, result in an all-time record output of farm products, but even that may fall short of demands made upon us. A program of food conservation is now in order. Production must be tied more closely than ever to marketing and processing facilities and new techniques of storing and preserving perishable foods must be devised.

In other words our normal methods of producing, processing, and distributing food will not do. Everyone can have sufficient nourishing food, with proper management, though we shall even then have local or perhaps temporary general shortages of particular foods. Foods will also reach consumers in different packages and forms from those to which we have been accustomed. Both farmers and food processors must use ingenuity, for they will have to do without many things to which they have been accustomed.

We must rationalize food production from seed to served meal. We must have a unified national food policy; all groups must coordinate their efforts. The job will require the combined efforts of farmers, processors, transporters, and distributors. The job will not be done until the finished product is in the hands of the soldier or civilian who requires it. We must utilize frugality to attain relative abundance for all under the most difficult circumstances. Yet the philosophy of abundance is one of the objectives for which we are fighting. Shall we permit malnutrition to return after the war?

Specifically this means: Shall we render our agricultural production, processing, and distributing machinery efficient for wartime needs only and then permit it to lapse into gross inefficiency later? Even the British have found it possible during this conflict to provide an adequate if somewhat monotonous diet for every person for the first time in Britain's history. We also shall be feeding all Americans a more varied and a better diet than the British get. Shall we quit that when hostilities cease?

It is planned that we shall not only feed ourselves but shall also put aside a food reserve to increase our influence at the peace council. For food is a powerful weapon to win the peace as well as the war. The normal progress of technical improvement in agriculture will mean vastly greater production in 1950 than in 1940—190 million bushels more corn, for instance—shall we learn to utilize it, or shall we be foolish enough to sabotage and curtail it?

Freedom from want is basic in the free world of tomorrow. Freedom of speech and democracy may have different meanings in different parts of the world but a calorie is a calorie and a vitamin a vitamin the world over. Food production shall be planned in accordance with the functional dietetic requirements of the population to be served as these are ascertained by experts in nutrition and medical science. Europe (U.S.S.R. excluded) with one-third the population of Asia has been consuming more cereals and six times as much wheat as all Asia! A world of such gross inequalities cannot be maintained stable.

There must be world food control after the war, with a free interchange of products throughout. In calorie terms the world never has produced enough food in normal times to give all people a decent diet. This must be done after the war. The United States will form a most important part of that world and must assume leadership in its reconstruction.

If our farm plant were so reorganized as to permit the general application of the technical equipment now used on the moderately successful farms, a total of two million farms, plus the 60,000 large-scale farm factories or large enterprises already existing, would undoubtedly produce all our food and fabric requirements. In the past we have actually had two million farms where the total value of products raised averaged

\$647 a year and ranged between \$400 and \$999, though \$700 is the estimated lowest amount of cash required to give a farm family an adequate living.

Moreover, nearly two million tracts regarded by the Bureau of Census as farms, had outputs below \$400 a year and averaged only \$215. Over a million such tracts reported the ownerships of no agricultural implements whatever and $1\frac{3}{4}$ millions failed to report possession of a single horse or mule. The 1,310,000 farms which produced half the total value of farm commodities in 1939, averaged \$3,009 cash income and only these could be considered adequate. The 60,000 large-scale enterprises with an output averaging \$22,989 in value a year are not family farms.

That is the picture as it has been and as it could be. It is impossible at this time to guess the probable length of the Global War which really began when the late Kaiser Wilhelm disembarked at Tangier in 1905 and threw Britain and France into turmoil. But it is imperative that plans be made now for a better world after hostilities do cease. Even if another temporary armistice occurs like that of 1918 we may, with sufficient foresighted planning, so change world conditions that a continuation of the struggle later will prove unnecessary.¹

When hostilities end the United States will have a highly efficient agricultural production machine with the Department of Agriculture as its over-all research and planning agency. Americans will have become accustomed to adequate diets and will be reluctant to break the habit. That plant must be so used that we shall all continue to be adequately clothed, housed, and fed, insofar as farm commodities further these ends. If necessary we must find our export market among our own underprivileged.

That will solve the farm problem for good and all. For farmers are prosperous and able freely to purchase industrial products when they themselves are producing at full capacity for a ready market. The good effects of universal sound nutrition also are cumulative. Under the stress

¹ Prof. D. Caradog Jones, economics, of the University of Liverpool, emphasized the fact that science has made the world an organic unit and reviewed the place of technology and invention therein, finally evolving a blueprint for world planning, in an article entitled "Advance In Invention: Its Relation to World Peace," *Nature* (London) May 16, 1942, v. 149.

of war we have turned science and technology loose. We do not fear agricultural surpluses any more; we simply utilize them as required.

Furthermore our agricultural and industrial relations with other countries must be supplementary and reciprocal after the war. Each nation must produce what it can produce most economically and supply other nations in friendly reciprocity. That means that we may supply much of Britain's food though the British Isles will also produce more of their own, releasing excess cereals in Argentina, Canada, and Australia to help feed Asians. Leaders of British and American thought are agreed on these fundamentals.²

More specifically British agriculture, for instance, will veer towards that of Denmark after the conflict. She will cease concentrating on cereals and beef cattle. She will produce her own fresh vegetables, dairy and poultry products. She will depend upon other countries for feed and food grains and cereals.

During the war we, in our turn, should have increased our milk production to the 140-billion-pound limit nutritionists say we require. We shall maintain the plant for producing this milk and see to it that it, and its products, get distribution to all who need it. There must be an end for all time to this business of 20 million Americans trying to subsist on an average of five cents per person per meal for food.

If we ate the diet we really require today we should have at least 7 million more good dairy cows. If we all had a best-adapted diet we should consume twice as much of the leafy green and yellow vegetables as we have been in the habit of eating, at least one-fourth more tomatoes and other vitamin-C-rich foods. In fact if all our people were really well fed we should require 35 million more crop acres for domestic use alone.

Hitherto we have refused abundance though science made it possible. We have sabotaged industrial and agricultural production and deranged our economic system in order to effect price maintenance. In the future

² In this connection the Memorandum of Agreement Regarding International Trade in Wheat, especially the preamble, should be read and pondered. The State Department announced this agreement between Argentina, Australia, Canada, the United Kingdom, and the United States on July 2, 1942. It is based firmly on sound scientific and economic principles and offers a fine example of the kind of thing that must be done repeatedly in the free world of tomorrow, covering one commodity after another.

we shall accept the gift of science and then find out how best to use it. We shall turn the equipment loose and then learn how to distribute and utilize the products.

That means the conscious and deliberate recognition of our transition from an economics of scarcity to one of abundance. We have been blind to the possibilities offered us by scientific research and applied technology. We shall open our eyes and accept the abundant life.

The Social Organization of Spanish-American Villages*

SIGURD JOHANSEN
New Mexico State College

Rural sociological research in the United States during the past quarter century has been concerned to a considerable degree with various phases of rural social organization. Yet despite all the studies that have been made relating to rural social organization, very little has been done in some parts of the country. This particularly holds true for certain areas of the Southwest, especially those areas where there are the two major cultural groups, namely, the Anglo-American and the Spanish-American.¹ The presence of these two major cultural groups in the Southwest has created a peculiar cultural situation which does not prevail in other parts of the United States, except to a limited extent in California. Until recently, however, not much work has been done along the lines of systematic study of rural social organization in those areas where there is a large proportion of Spanish-Americans.²

New Mexico is probably the state where the influence of the Spanish-American cultural group is greatest. Nearly half of the people of the State are Spanish-Americans, living mostly in the river valleys, especially along the Rio Grande and its tributaries. Spanish is spoken freely in the areas where the Spanish-Americans reside. Both English and Spanish are official languages in the State. The influence of the Spanish-American culture, however, is more than merely a matter of language differences. These people have a long cultural history which has af-

* This paper was read before the meeting of the Southwestern Sociological Society in Dallas, April 4-5, 1942.

¹ Throughout this paper the term "Anglo-American" refers to that portion of the white race which is primarily English-speaking. "Spanish-American" is a term used by most people in the Southwest to designate that group of people which is primarily Spanish-speaking and which in most other parts of the United States is known as "Mexicans."

² See Olen Leonard and C. P. Loomis, *Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community*, United States Department of Agriculture, Rural Life Studies: 1, November, 1941; George I. Sanchez, *Forgotten People*, University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, New Mexico, 1940; and Paul Walter, Jr., *A Study of Isolation and Social Change in Three Spanish-Speaking Villages of New Mexico*, Ph. D. Thesis, Stanford University, 1938.

fected the social structure and social interaction of the areas where they reside.

The fundamental purpose of the study which is summarized in this paper was to discover the nature of rural social organization in a Spanish-American area in New Mexico. (As used in the study, the term "social organization" refers to the structure of the social groups and the social institutions which characterize a given society or area and to the functioning of these groups and institutions.)³

The area included in the study was limited to Dona Ana County, New Mexico. This county is located in the southern part of the State, bordering on Texas and the Republic of Mexico. Its area is 3,821 square miles. The county is traversed from northwest to southeast by the Rio Grande. The river valley is bounded on each side by sparsely vegetated *mesas*. Because of the lack of adequate rainfall, agriculture is limited to a narrow strip of irrigated land along the river. The growing season, the soil fertility, and the supply of irrigation water are all favorable to a wide selection of crop enterprises. The crops grown in the county, in order of importance are cotton, alfalfa, corn, sorghums, vegetables, and fruit. Cotton is of such importance that the farm economy is built largely around this one crop.

The population of the country has been increasing rapidly since 1910. In 1940 it was 30,411. Nearly two-thirds of the population is estimated to be Spanish-American and the great majority of the remainder are Anglo-Americans. The population of the county is preponderantly rural and is concentrated in the irrigated area or at its edge.

A number of different types of locality groups are present in the county. The population centers include one city with 8,355 people, one incorporated village, 10 unincorporated villages, and 15 hamlets. All of these centers, with the exception of one small hamlet, are located within the three community areas of the county. Six of the hamlets are nuclei of hamlet neighborhoods. In the three community areas there are also six open-country neighborhoods. One open-country neighborhood is located outside the community areas. Five of the villages and six of the hamlets have little or no surrounding open-country population. These centers are located at the edge of the irrigated area. The major portion of the study deals with two of the villages and all the hamlets in this group. These eight centers range in size from 42 to 452 persons

³ The study referred to is *Rural Social Organization in a Spanish-American Culture Area*, Ph.D. Thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1941.

and were selected for detailed study because they are a unique phase of social organization which merits consideration.

The eight selected centers lack some or all of the institutions and agencies essential to meet even minimum needs. As a consequence, it is necessary for the inhabitants of these centers to look to other centers for many of their services. The relative lack of agencies and institutions has had an important consequence in that it has eliminated a basis for common interests and activities on the part of the inhabitants.

The population of the selected centers is predominantly Spanish-American. In general, the age and sex distribution of the population is quite similar to the age and sex distribution of the population of Dona Ana County as a whole. The marital status of the population compares closely to that of the population of New Mexico. Most of the inhabitants of the centers are of low educational status. Over half of all the household heads are on some step of the agricultural ladder and over one-third are farm laborers.

The majority of the people in the eight selected villages and hamlets live in *adobe* structures. Most of the dwellings are small in relation to the number of persons that reside in them. Ownership is the most frequent type of tenure. As a rule, the houses are poorly equipped with respect to heating, lighting, and sanitary facilities. Means of transportation and communication facilities are limited in all centers.

Spanish-American residents in the centers are not characterized by a high degree of mobility. Judged by the average length of residence, the heads of the households have tended to stay in the centers instead of moving away. The majority of the heads have always lived in the centers in which they now reside or have come to the centers from relatively short distances within the county. Children not living at the home of their parents have tended either to stay in the centers or to move to some nearby locality in the county.

The type of social organization which has been found to exist in the eight selected villages and hamlets raises questions as to the role which various social-cultural processes play in determining the nature of such social organization.⁴

Isolation has been a factor in determining the type of social organization of the centers. It has taken two forms, geographical isolation and

⁴ The term "social-cultural processes" instead of the term "social processes" has been used in this paper because some of the processes are of a more strictly cultural nature than those usually thought of as forms of interaction.

cultural isolation. Geographical isolation has resulted from the location of the centers on the *mesas* at the edge of the irrigated area. The absence of open-country population around the centers has also made the inhabitants geographically isolated. Cultural isolation in the centers has been fostered by language and other cultural differences and by a strong in-group feeling with reference to the Anglo-Americans as a whole. Cultural isolation is breaking down, but it is still an important factor to consider because of its past influence.

Another process has been that of association which in part explains the concentration of a large proportion of the Spanish-Americans in small villages and hamlets. Spanish-Americans are characterized by a high degree of gregariousness. This has manifested itself particularly in the sociability aspects of interaction. The associative tendencies of this cultural group have been a factor both in the origin of the centers and in their persistence.

A study of social and economic conditions in the villages and hamlets shows a lack of opportunities for the inhabitants of the centers. Opportunities for social participation are limited, and for many families a considerable degree of economic insecurity prevails. A question therefore arises as to why there is so little effort to leave the centers or to make the necessary readjustments within the centers. The answer is in part found in what may be called cultural inertia. To many Spanish-Americans residing in small population centers, it is easiest to continue to live within the old patterns of behavior. Inertia rather than change has become the way of life. Social change in its wider aspects has created maladjustments for these people, but new adjustments have not been possible because the state of inertia which has developed has made it difficult to effect the necessary changes.

There is a lack of special-interest groups as well as a lack of locality-group consciousness in the villages and hamlets. Because of this situation the family assumes an important place among the Spanish-American inhabitants. The family together with the interactional behavior growing out of family life constitutes the most important single factor in the social organization of the centers. Family interrelationships are very common among the Spanish-Americans. This large amount of family interrelationship plays an important part in the prevailing social organization. In the first place, such interrelationships tend to increase family solidarity. Secondly, they serve as a force in keeping a large

proportion of the population in the centers. Finally, sociability in the centers is closely related to family interrelationships.

The importance of the family is also seen in its relation to social control. In the villages and hamlets studied, there is very little formal social control of a local nature. Social control therefore is restricted largely to informal forms. Such informal social control is in part exercised through the influence of the church, but it has manifested itself largely through the family. The situation is gradually becoming more complicated, however, because changes are taking place which are making problems of social control within the family increasingly difficult. Because of the breakdown of isolation and the increase in social contacts, new attitudes and ideas have found their way into the centers and have affected family life. The lack of opportunity to satisfy new wants and desires has resulted in a feeling of dissatisfaction on the part of many children and young people. Family solidarity is also feeling the effect of the influence of outside contacts. Family mores are no longer as binding as they once were. As a consequence, the families are less highly integrated and there has been a lessening of parental control.

The low educational status of the residents of the eight villages and hamlets is but an objective manifestation of underlying educational problems growing out of the presence of a large number of Spanish-Americans in the total population. Educational leaders have not been fully able to understand the educational needs of the Spanish-Americans and the problems created by the presence of two divergent cultural groups. On the other hand, there has been a lack of understanding on the part of the Spanish-Americans as to why education is needed and why it is of value. Economic security is of greatest concern, and the people have failed to see how formal education has been able to help in this respect. Unfortunately, the teaching program has not been of a nature to impress upon the children the value of education in its wider aspects. As a result, the children have failed to realize the connection between their learning and the problems which they must face. Because of this general situation an unfavorable attitude toward education exists on the part of the Spanish-Americans and this has had an adverse influence on social organization. Education has not been successful in making the residents of the Spanish-American villages and hamlets understand their problems. Consequently, new adjustments have not been facilitated.

Because of the lack of effective educational forces, the family and

the church have retained a greater measure of social control than would otherwise have been the case. The church plays an important role among the Spanish-American people. Next to the family, it is the most important social institution. The majority of the Spanish-American inhabitants in the eight villages and hamlets are Catholic. The religious factor has continued to be a strong element in the lives of the Spanish-Americans because the church has served as a social bond to keep these people together. In the face of social changes that have tended to disrupt the mode of living and to destroy economic security, the church has been the one place for many of these people to seek aid in their difficulties. The Catholic church has given sanction to the mores that have already become rooted in the culture of the group. However, while the Catholic church is an important agency of social control there is some evidence that it is becoming less effective in this respect so far as the younger people are concerned. As in the case of the family, this changing influence has been the result of the breaking down of isolation with the accompanying new social contacts.

Cooperation is not a form of interaction which plays a prominent part in the Spanish-American villages and hamlets. It is more evident within the larger family groups than it is in the centers as a whole. On the other hand, conflict is a process which operates both in the centers and in the wider areas. Conflict situations have arisen out of the presence of two major cultural groups and out of the historical developments which have taken place. Where conflict has been present, it often has acted as a binding factor among the Spanish-Americans. At the same time, it has given way to accommodation to quite an extent. Accommodation is a form of adjustment which became necessary because of the coming of the Anglo-Americans and their rise to a dominating position. This process has served to increase the identification of the Spanish-Americans in the villages and hamlets with their cultural group. So far accommodation has not been a step towards assimilation and amalgamation.

The process of disintegration is evident in most of the centers. Disintegration has been fostered by a number of factors from outside the centers. One of these has been the changing agricultural economy which has brought economic insecurity. Another has been the program of public assistance which has developed and which has created an attitude of dependence. Finally, the infiltration of new ideas from the outside has weakened the agencies of social control. Besides these three

outside factors, a number of factors within the centers themselves have been instrumental in furthering the process of disintegration. These are the breakdown of family mores, the decrease in sociability and recreation, and the declining importance of the centers.

In relating the processes to the social organization of the area, ample evidence has been found that the position in which the inhabitants of the centers find themselves is not altogether a happy one. It appears that certain readjustments will have to be made before it will be possible to effect any improvement in conditions so that better living will be achieved, readjustments which at present do not appear likely to be realized in the near future.

The problem of making the necessary readjustments to meet the changing situation is complicated by the fact that the life of the Spanish-American people represents an adjustment that once functioned without disorganizing effects. For this reason, it is not possible to impose on them a new pattern of behavior which does not take full account of the adjustments that have been made. Unfortunately, the inroads made on the culture of the group have weakened the framework of readjustment. It has often been contended that a society which has functioned well in the past has within itself the mechanism necessary for readjustments needed as a result of social change, but so violent have been the changes that have occurred that the mechanisms necessary to make new adjustments do not appear to exist in the culture of the Spanish-American people that are included in the study. New forces must be brought into play if the problems of these people are to be solved. It appears that two things are necessary, namely, economic readjustment and an educational program fitted to meet the needs of the Spanish-American people.

The need for economic readjustment has grown out of the lack of economic security. The Spanish-Americans in the centers have for the most part lost any land they ever owned and have become members of the agricultural laboring class. Unfortunately, the mechanization of agriculture that has taken place has lessened the demand for agricultural laborers. Furthermore, the opportunities for employment in occupations other than agriculture is very limited. These factors have been instrumental in creating an economic insecurity which must be solved before any satisfactory readjustment can be made.

Apparently, the answer must be found in agriculture if the Spanish-Americans are to continue living in the area where they now reside.

Agriculture can provide the solution in two ways. One is a return to some measure of self-sufficiency such as characterized the area in former years. This will entail access to land either to a sufficient extent to support a family altogether or enough to permit at least part-time farming to be supplemented by income from agricultural labor and, in some instances, from labor in non-agricultural occupations.

The second way in which agriculture might provide aid in solving the economic problems of the group is through changes in the type of agriculture and in agricultural methods to an extent where there is a greater demand for agricultural labor. This course seems highly improbable in view of the present trend toward increased mechanization of agriculture. There is no reason to believe that the demand for agricultural labor will increase appreciably. On the contrary, it seems likely that the opposite will be the case. Thus, a return to some measure of self-sufficiency seems the only practical solution.

It is possible that economic forces cannot be set in motion which will bring about a return to a self-sufficient economy on the part of the Spanish-Americans in the centers. In such an event, the only possible alternative for a great many members of this cultural group at present appears to be support through a continuation of the existing program of public assistance. At the best, a program of public assistance will only be a means of providing a makeshift solution for a serious problem. It will not aid in solving the conditions which have made for economic and social maladjustment.

Granted that a program might be developed which could provide a measure of economic security for the Spanish-Americans in the small villages and hamlets, there will still be social maladjustments which cannot be solved until a more desirable educational program is developed. One of the noticeable aspects of the present situation is the lack of coordination between the schools and community life in the centers. This situation must be remedied before the present unfavorable attitude of the Spanish-Americans toward education will be changed. Until such a change is brought about the possibilities for social readjustments will be very limited.

An educational program aimed at greater coordination between the schools and community life in the centers should consider two things. One is the necessity of insight on the part of the educational leaders and teachers concerning the nature of the problems facing the Spanish-Americans. The other is that the educational program must give atten-

tion not only to the specific problems at hand but also to the possibility of educating these people so that they may be prepared to assume their proper place in society. Emphasis needs to be placed both on cultural values which may be obtained from outside the Spanish-American cultural group and on cultural values present in the group life of the Spanish-Americans. Such an educational program would not only bring about greater coordination between the school and community life, but would also aid materially in creating a more desirable attitude of cooperation and understanding so that a more harmonious relationship would prevail between the Anglo-Americans and the Spanish-Americans.

It appears, then, that economic changes making possible a greater degree of economic security than now exists and a program of education adapted to meet the problems arising out of existing conditions are essential to the future well-being of the Spanish-Americans in the centers included in the study. Unless action is taken along these lines, the undesirable position in which the Spanish-Americans now find themselves will be further aggravated and the process of disintegration which is already under way will be intensified to such an extent that the people no longer will be able to fill their proper place in society.

Economic Errors of the Treaty of Versailles*

CLAUDE A. CAMPBELL
University of Oklahoma

The Allied and Associated Powers proposed in the Treaty of Versailles to establish "a firm, just and durable peace."¹ However, the German representatives, who protested vigorously against signing the document, were by no means the only ones who felt that they had fallen far short of such a mark. There were at least three rather well defined attitudes concerning the treaty. The apparent majority did not regard the treaty as perfect by any means, but, as Bernard M. Baruch ably maintained in his book, *The Making of the Reparation and Economic Sections of the Treaty*, published in 1920, they did believe it to be the best agreement obtainable under the circumstances. One minority considered the treaty unsatisfactory because it did not meet what they conceived to be their legitimate demands. A second minority, whose views were best set forth in J. M. Keynes' book, *The Economic Consequences of the Peace*, completed in November, 1919 and published in 1920, took the position that the treaty, "if it is carried into effect, must impair yet further, when it might have restored, the delicate, complicated organization . . . through which alone the European peoples can employ themselves and live."²

From the very beginning, as the titles of Baruch's and Keynes' books indicate, the attack upon the treaty has centered upon its economic provisions. This criticism, which "Liberals," irrespective of nationality, joined with Junkers and other more or less reactionary German nationalists in heaping upon the peace, reached its climax during the "Great Depression," aptly referred to in our economic history as "the last battle of the World War."³ Since the outbreak of World War II there has developed a tendency critically to re-examine the Treaty of

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¹ Malloy, W. H., comp., *Treaties, Conventions, International Acts, Protocols, and Agreements Between the United States of America and Other Powers*, 2 vols., (Washington, 1923), Appendix 1, 8331.

² Keynes, J. M., *The Economic Consequences of the Peace* (New York, 1920), 3.

³ Shotwell, J. T., *What Germany Forgot* (New York, 1940), 11.

Versailles with a view to determining what its errors, particularly those of the economic variety, actually are. Such a course of action should give rise to discriminating and constructive criticism which will not only allocate the proper measure of blame to the erroneous provisions of the treaty itself but will also apportion fair shares of it to war costs and post-war management.

While there is virtually no difference of opinion as to the fact that there are economic errors in the Treaty of Versailles, there is a wide divergence of opinion as to their extent. The English liberal, John M. Keynes, who early set the fashion for critics of the economic aspects of the treaty, made probably the severest and most sweeping indictment of its economic provisions. His main contentions as set forth in *The Economic Consequences of the Peace* and reiterated in *A Revision of the Treaty*, its sequel or the "I told you so volume," published in 1922, were: "(1) that the claims against Germany which the Allies were contemplating were impossible of payment; (2) that the economic solidarity of Europe was so close that an attempt to enforce these claims might ruin everyone; (3) that the money cost of the damage done by the enemy in France and Belgium had been exaggerated; (4) that the inclusion of pensions and allowances in our claims was a breach of faith; and (5) that our legitimate claim against Germany was within her capacity to pay."⁴ On the other hand, perhaps the most favorable evaluation of the economic provisions of the treaty was that of James T. Shotwell in his book, *What Germany Forgot*, completed in November, 1939, and published in 1940. He took the position that the only "unendurable servitudes" in the treaty were in the sections on Reparation and the Polish settlement and raised the question as to what part of Germany's grievance against the peace lay in the substance of its exactions and what part in the manner of their imposition.⁵ Sir Andrew McFaydean, a noted British liberal, who represented the British Treasury at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919-1920, who was general secretary to the Reparation Commission from 1922 to 1924, and who served as Commissioner of Controlled Revenues in Berlin from 1924 until 1930, in an article entitled "Don't Do It Again" which appeared in the *Atlantic* of November, 1941, expressed a point of view which falls somewhere between the views of Keynes and Shotwell. McFaydean's arraignment of the reparation chapter of the treaty was as harsh as

⁴ Keynes, J. M., *A Revision of the Treaty* (New York, 1922), 107.

⁵ Shotwell, *op. cit.*, 109-19.

Keynes'. He alluded to but did not designate "grave faults" in the financial and economic sections of the treaty. Like Shotwell, he indicated that the Polish settlement was the only readjustment relative to boundaries which was decidedly unwise. In addition, McFaydean emphasized the fact that the fault did not lie primarily in the provisions of the treaty but in their execution.

The purpose of this paper is to consider briefly "The Economic Errors of the Treaty of Versailles." This is obviously a difficult undertaking as it involves the necessity of determining and designating the economic provisions of the treaty which are actually erroneous. It is one thing to charge that certain stipulations in a treaty are economically unsound and it is altogether another thing to demonstrate conclusively the truth of such an assertion. Especially is this the case when there is so great a difference of opinion as exists regarding the economic provisions of the Peace of Versailles.

The soundness of the economic provisions of a treaty should be determined upon the basis of their own inherent worth. However, because of the want of accurate information concerning war costs, there has been a marked tendency to ignore or discount them and to talk glibly of the economic unsoundness of the treaty. A decided disposition to make no distinction between the economic shortcomings of the treaty itself and the economic misfortunes which have grown out of the unwise policies of enforcement has also been evident. There also has been a marked tendency to ignore the fact that political, social, and psychological factors necessarily condition economic matters. Nevertheless, neither the matter of conditions and factors affecting the formulation and inclusion of the provisions in question nor the manner of their enforcement should be confused with the provisions themselves in the process of evaluation. The exclusion of war costs and post-war history from this discussion narrowly delimits the subject, but it concentrates attention upon the main points, *i.e.*, the economic provisions of the treaty itself.

The assertion that the economic clauses of the Treaty of Versailles are "cumulative provisions for the destruction of highly organized economic life" cannot be substantiated. On the contrary, "carefully calculated policy" is not apparent in these clauses. Although there was much in the peace that was "petty, unjust and humiliating," there was little, aside from reparation clauses and certain territorial concessions, which had much real bearing upon Germany's economic future. The treaty's

chief economic shortcoming lies not so much in what it does contain but in what it does *not* contain. Its "timorous failure to reckon with economic realities" is revealed most forcefully in the fact that it did not include "provisions for the economic rehabilitation of Europe." Obviously the treaty's economic provisions should have implemented the given territorial and political reorganization of Europe based upon the accepted principle of "self determination."⁶

A discussion of the economic errors in the Treaty of Versailles centers specifically on the questions of boundaries, economic and financial provisions affecting Germany, and reparation. Of these, the matter of reparation is by far the most important although it is manifestly impossible to ignore the other two.

To say that territorial provisions of the Treaty of Versailles upset the nicely integrated economic system of Germany⁷ is not necessarily to say that they were economically unsound. However, depriving Germany of her resources in excess of the amount necessary to fulfill the legitimate economic demands of the victors, as was done in the disposition of the Saar and in the Polish settlement, was indefensible. The injection of questions of punitive measures and retributive justice in these situations had no economic justification.⁸

The failure to include in the treaty provisions looking to the restoration of Germany to her former position as the chief economic and financial stabilizing influence in central Europe⁹ was obviously shortsighted from the economic standpoint. There was no economic justification for imposing annoying and to some extent burdensome restrictions upon Germany's export trade.¹⁰ Furthermore, the failure to grant reciprocal conditions in the matter of commercial exchanges and so to help create a situation in which Germany could have some basis for hoping to be able to discharge the enormous financial obligations imposed upon her in consequence of her defeat in the war was economically unsound. If virtually the only means by which Germany could hope not only to

⁶ Young, A. A., Review of J. M. Keynes' *The Economic Consequences of the Peace*, *New Republic*, XXI, 388-9 (Feb. 25, 1920), 388-9 and Keynes, *The Economic Consequences of the Peace*, 226.

⁷ Mireaux, E., "The European Crisis and the Peace Treaties," *Annals of the Academy of Political and Social Science*, CIV, 132-39 (Nov., 1922).

⁸ Hobson, J. A., "The Economics of Reparation," *Nation*, CXIII, 243-50 (Aug. 31, 1921), 248.

⁹ Keynes, *The Economic Consequences of the Peace*, 16-17.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 101-2; Taussig, F. W., "Germany's Reparation Payments," *American Economic Review*, X: sup., 33-57 (March, 1920), 41-42; Young, 489.

maintain her credit but also to pay the claims against her was by exporting more than she imported,¹¹ the economic stupidity of setting up conditions under which she could not possibly accomplish this end was obvious.

The lack of economic wisdom which characterizes certain of the territorial, economic, and financial provisions of the Treaty of Versailles is completely shown by the utter folly of the reparation section. Without subscribing to the extreme view that "the origin of this war is preeminently to be found in the economic catastrophe that was almost the direct result of inflated reparation claims, aggravated by dead-weight debts to the United States,"¹² it is still possible to say that the reparation section of the treaty is economically indefensible.

The failure to fix the total amount of reparation which Germany was required to agree to pay was an economic error of the first magnitude. Such a course was destructive of the incentives to industry and saving on the part of Germany's citizens who had good reason to suppose that the more they paid the more they would be asked to pay. Furthermore, by denying Germany "certainty and confidence in the future," it increased her difficulties in obtaining foreign credit and raw materials which it was imperative that she have to maintain herself and make reparation payments.¹³

The fact that reparation was not computed upon the basis of Germany's ability to pay and the Allied and Associated Powers' ability to receive was a serious economic mistake. Regardless of the amount of loss for which Germany was responsible, she could be required to make restitution only to the extent of what it was actually in her power to pay. With regard to reparation in kind, it is obvious that the Allied and Associated Powers could afford to accept only what they had the capacity to take without upsetting their own economic equilibrium.¹⁴

Failure to set the total amount of reparation calculated on the basis of Germany's ability to pay and the Allied and Associated Powers' capacity to receive led to the creation of the Reparation Commission to deal with the reparation problem. Entrusting this partial body with control over reparation and in effect giving it "a right or arbitrary supervision" over Germany's entire economic system was economically unwise. Conceding that the Commission might have the best of intentions

¹¹ Hobson, *op. cit.*, 249-50; Keynes, *The Economic Consequences of the Peace*, 188ff.

¹² McFaydean, A., "Don't Do It Again," *Atlantic*, CLXVIII, 575-83 (Nov., 1941), 582.

¹³ Hobson, *op. cit.*, 244.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 250; Keynes, *The Economic Consequences of the Peace*, 149 ff. and 157 ff.

as well as marked ability, the fact remains that it would still be incompetent adequately to manage the perplexing question of reparation.¹⁸

The cumulative effect of the failure to deal adequately with the important problem of German reparation, the economically unjustifiable reduction in Germany's resources in the specified instances, and the imposition of trade restrictions coupled with the failure to grant reciprocity to Germany was tremendous. However, these economic errors of the treaty were not *in themselves* alone sufficient to have accounted even indirectly for the major portion of the world's current woe.

A critical review of "The Economic Errors of the Treaty of Versailles" ought to provide the economist with much food for thought at the present juncture. Such a survey should increase his awareness of the economic pitfalls certain to beset the path of those who will negotiate the peace which will conclude World War II. It should serve to reemphasize the extreme importance of his leading in the demand for the incorporation of wise, practical, and equitable economic provisions in this treaty. Finally, the economist, without either assuming the "mantle of prophecy" or posing as "a man with a mission," is justified in feeling that he is both qualified and obligated to render valuable aid not only in helping to formulate a truly "firm, just and durable peace" after the present holocaust, but also in assisting to create a state of public opinion which will be receptive to such a peace.

¹⁸ Hobson, *op. cit.*, 247-8; Keynes, *The Economic Consequences of the Peace*, 208 ff.

Examination for Accountants

FLADGER F. TANNERY
The University of Texas

The subject of this paper raises questions on which there is a lack of complete agreement and which probably can never be answered categorically. However, the time spent considering the subject will be justified if some points can be raised that will provoke discussion and thinking on the subject.

The work of the profession of accountancy today includes:

1. Private accounting including, of course, corporation accounting.
2. Governmental accounting.
3. Cost accounting, both private and governmental.
4. Auditing, both detailed and the so-called balance sheet audit in the fields of both private and governmental organizations.
5. System work.
6. Tax work both from the standpoint of the taxpayer and the taxing agency or governmental unit.
7. Special investigations:
 - (1) For the purchase and sale of all or a substantial part of a business.
 - (2) For bondholders and certain classes of stockholders.
 - (3) For credit, both short and long term.
 - (4) For the purpose of registration and sale of securities.
 - (5) For law suits brought for damage.
 - (6) For law suits and hearings before regulatory boards and commissions on allowable rate of return on invested capital or assets.
 - (7) For legal suits and hearings involving tax payments.
 - (8) For determining estate values and allocations.
 - (9) In governmental fields for determining the proper tax payment, payroll contributions and compliance with the general fiscal statute by the administrative officers, etc.
8. Consultation work. Giving advice, and making investigations, survey and studies upon the basis of which advice is given, in such

fields as business organization, finance and capitalization, taxes, compliance with government regulations, marketing and distribution, production, allocation of manufacturing costs, labor problems, system changes, and the purchase and installation of mechanical accounting equipment.

This listing indicates the broad scope of the accountancy profession and suggests something of the responsibilities of the professional accountant, which incidentally have greatly increased in recent years, and the present trend is toward even a further increase.

The scope of the profession is indicative of the study and training required of the man entering the profession. On this subject of accountancy education, Mr. Norman E. Webster, one of our leading accountants has had this to say:

Ideally the scope of accountancy education embraces all subjects and matters relating directly or indirectly to the production, acquisition, conservation or transfer of valuable property or service by individuals or associations of individuals. Therefore, it includes the known facts as to all forms of transactions, as to all classes of value, it embraces the relation to accountancy of the material sciences, law, economics, finance, ethics and logic.¹

The subject of accountancy education surely bears further analysis, but for the purpose of this paper this definition will suffice; hence, we turn now to the question of examinations for accountants. To assist in a clearer discussion of the subject, it has been divided into the following parts:

1. The purpose of the examination.
2. The scope of the examination.
3. The methods available for examining candidates, and the types of examinations that may be given.

The scope or coverage of the examination must always be related to the purpose it is expected to serve. Perhaps the one general, and no doubt in many cases the most serious single criticism of an examination, is the fact that its purpose and scope are often not related. The general purposes for which accounting examinations are given may be listed as: (1) to test the mastery of a given accounting course taken by the candidate in an educational institution, (2) to examine candidates for a Certified Public Accountant certificate, (3) to examine candidates for special types of certificates, *e.g.*, municipal accounting certificates, and

¹ *Bulletin of the New York State Society of Public Accountants*, April, 1934, page 9.

(4) to examine applicants as a part of the technique for selection of persons to fill accounting positions or to do accounting work in the fields of business and government. It is obvious at the outset that each of these purposes are distinct. Each should be carefully analyzed before determining the scope of the examination.

It is usually the practice in an accounting course to set the examination at the completion of the course. In this case, a decision must be reached as to whether the examination is to determine how much the student has memorized from the accounting text book alone, whether it is to be a test of memory on outside readings and points emphasized in the instructor's lectures, or whether it is to determine how well the student can analyze technical problems in light of the principles emphasized in the course. Finally, it must be decided as to whether the score made on the particular examination is to be the only basis for grading the student on the course. Regardless of purpose, the scope of the examination should be designed to fulfill the objectives for which it is being given.

The problem of examining candidates for the Certified Public Accountant certificate involves two or three questions. First, is the examination mainly to select those who after a period of apprenticeship may enter the practice of the profession on their own account, or is it to determine the fitness of the candidate to enter upon the practice of public accountancy on his own account? Second, is the particular examination to be the sole basis for determining the fitness of the candidate?

The answer to the second question should be no. The first of the list of objectives adopted at a recent meeting of the Association of C.P.A. Examiners reads as follows:

"Evidence of good moral character and accounting experience should be developed, by boards using various means, including personal interviews.

"It is suggested that this may be implemented by the delegation of interviews to present certificate holders in states where the number of candidates makes it impossible for the board to do this personally. However, the board must retain the basic responsibility for the collection of this evidence even though it be done by correspondence or interview."²

If the answer to the first question is that the examination is to select those who after a period of apprenticeship may enter the practice, then

² *The Texas Accountant*, October, 1941, Vol. 13, No. 10, p. 6.

the examination should test at least these three things: (1) the academic fitness of the candidate, (2) the candidate's knowledge of general business practices, (3) the candidate's knowledge of the basic accounting principles.

On the other hand, if the examination is to determine whether the candidate is qualified to enter upon the practice of public accountancy on his own account, and this is believed to be the purpose of the examination, then the scope of the examination should be extended. It should include the points already mentioned, covered, however, on perhaps a somewhat higher level. In addition, questions should be included in the examination dealing with the methodology available for use in the profession; questions testing the candidate's ability to use these "tools" of the profession; and finally questions dealing with the ethical responsibilities to his client, the public and to other members of his profession. Furthermore, since the accountant is called upon to give advice based upon the general principles of accounting, business and economics, the examination should be designed to test the candidate's ability to apply accounting and business principles to given business conditions rather than to test his ability to recite or to recognize a statement of principles. Finally, the general level of the examination should be that of a senior accountant; this, too, is one of the points covered by the C.P.A. Examiners in their Statement of Objectives.

The third purpose for which examinations are given accountants is to determine their fitness to do a certain type or specialized accounting work. For instance, some states now conduct examinations to determine the fitness of accountants to do governmental or municipal accounting. Examination in specialized fields should be very similar to the type just discussed, weighted with questions designed to test the accountant's knowledge of the principles and methodology peculiar to the particular field. Furthermore, questions should be asked to determine the candidate's familiarity with points of law that apply particularly to the specialized work.

Examinations of the fourth type listed are those for determining a candidate's fitness to fill a particular accounting position or to do a particular type of accounting work. It is here, perhaps, more than in the other instances already covered, that the scope of the examination and the purpose for which the examination is to serve are often unrelated. The operating department of a business or governmental unit informs the personnel agency "We need an accountant" and the agency

then proceeds to hold an examination for "an accountant." There is no assurance that the job visualized by the operating department is the same as the job visualized by the personnel agency when it prepared and conducted the examination. No personnel selection program, regardless of whether it covers only accounting positions, or all types of jobs and positions, can be carried on successfully on a long term basis unless it rests on a solid foundation of a good job classification plan. Unless each position in a particular office, an industry or governmental unit, has been studied and has been properly incorporated in such a plan, the problem of selecting personnel with the proper qualifications are multiplied many times over. An experienced examiner will make an analysis of the position or positions to be filled as one of his first moves, in order to obtain a clear-cut picture of the position. The task of job-analysis is no easy one and often requires the services of the occupational or professional experts. In many instances the personnel selection problem is not large enough to justify the employment of these specialists on a full-time basis. An experienced examiner in this case will usually seek advice from outstanding individuals in the accounting profession, if there is not an accountant already in the organization qualified to give the advice thought necessary. Our professional societies, our universities and colleges, and in the case of governmental accountants, the Municipal Finance Officers Association are good sources for advice and for securing special examiners. It is doubtful that an examiner in a personnel agency can prepare and conduct an examination that will be successful in selecting persons qualified to do a particular accounting job without making a thorough analysis of the job and without seeking professional advice in planning the scope of the examination and in drafting the examination questions. The subject matter of a profession like accountancy will not lend itself to such a simple and general treatment with any degree of success. Therefore, when you hear of those cases where an examination has been held for a particular job and when the man who is doing and has done the job successfully for a number of years, fails the test, you can usually assume that the scope and the purpose of the examination were not related: the examination was held for "an accountant."

The next topic of the general subject relates to the methods available for use in examining candidates for accounting positions. But before taking up these various methods it may be appropriate to inquire into the most important factor in personnel selection. This factor is "suc-

cess on the job." Some of the general characteristics of the candidate that make for success are: (1) the ability to perform, (2) the ability to learn, (3) the ability for "getting along with people," and (4) the willingness to perform, to learn, and to try to understand the characteristics of the people with whom he works. Specifically these four factors consist of: (1) *skills*—the ability to perform physically and mentally; (2) *knowledge*—the understanding of the principles, techniques and methodologies of the profession, especially those applicable or important to the particular job to be filled; (3) *aptitudes*—essentially native ability; (4) *personal traits*—a broad term, but used here to mean social intelligence, introversion or extroversion, determination or drive, ambition, integrity or honesty; (5) *interest*—a vital factor to success, and it may be that personal traits such as ambition and drive include interest, yet it is of sufficient importance to "success on the job" to deserve special consideration in the selection of personnel; (6) *physical characteristics*—height, weight, agility, and physical handicaps; and (7) *medical condition*—physical soundness and freedom from diseases.

No doubt most of us agree that the surest method for determining a candidate's fitness for a particular job is a probational period for observing the "man on the job." This may be the surest and perhaps the best, but not necessarily so. It cannot be used in all cases and will not determine nor measure all of the elements of success listed above. Other methods, therefore, must be considered. Some of these are:

- (1) Written examination
- (2) Oral interview or oral examination
- (3) Performance tests or practical demonstrations
- (4) Evaluation of training and experience
- (5) Investigation of character, training and experience history
- (6) Physical test and medical examinations.

It is doubtful whether an examiner would or should rely solely on any single one of these methods; usually the findings of two or more are brought together and the candidate's fitness or qualifications determined thereby. Furthermore, each of these methods may be used effectively for testing the candidate's fitness from the standpoint of a particular factor of success. For example, a medical examination is made to determine the candidate's physical condition and an evaluation of his training and experience history gives important data on such elements as skills, knowledge, personal traits, aptitudes and interest. The writ-

ten examination method does not fit the popular appeal nor does it appear as practical a method as some of the others mentioned, but, on the other hand, the written test method lends itself to objective rating more readily than do the other methods. The remaining part of this paper is, therefore, devoted to a discussion of the written tests.

Written examinations in general can be divided into two major classes: the so-called "short-answer" or the objective type, and the so-called "free-answer" or subjective type. The advantages and disadvantages of either type are sufficient to justify a paper alone; however, we shall go only into some of the points relating to accounting examinations.

The "short-answer" type test is more or less a recent development compared with the "free-answer" type. The former began to be used sometime after the beginning of the present century, and in the last twenty years it has received much attention. Usually one definite answer, often a single word or symbol, is required to answer the "short-answer" type of question. It is important, therefore, to consider the language used in presenting the question. For instance, the following are some of the points to be considered in drafting "short-answer" questions:

- (1) The intrinsic difficulty of the phraseology of the question should not be any greater than the answer sought.
- (2) The language or words used should be on a level with the degree of literacy required of the persons filling the position for which the examination is conducted.
- (3) Only one bit of information should be tested at a time.
- (4) The words used in the question should be such that persons familiar with the subject will arrive at the same interpretation of the question.
- (5) A question should not be asked concerning subject on which there is a controversy in the field.
- (6) The knowledge level of the group in question should be considered.
- (7) The question should be readable and should not be longer than 20 words, according to some experts on tests.
- (8) The question should be designed primarily for testing factual information or word knowledge and should not be used for testing methodologies and reasoning processes.

There may be other points, but these serve to indicate some of the pitfalls that await the examiner. Now some of the various types of "short-answer" tests may be quickly examined.

The *True-False* type is very simple to score which no doubt accounts for its popularity. Some undesirable tendencies have been revealed in True-False statements according to a study made by I. H. Brenkmeir and G. M. Ruch:

1. Long statements, that is those composed of more than twenty words, tend to be true.
2. Statements containing the words *always* or *never* or similar words expressing absoluteness are much more often false than true.
3. Statements containing such expressions as *almost*, *almost always*, *almost never*, *largely*, *not often*, and *nearly always*, are for the most part true statements.
4. Statements containing such comparisons as *more than* and *less than* are more often true than false.
5. Statements involving cause or reasoning are more often false than true.³

The *Completion* type is a second type of "short-answer" test. Perhaps the greatest pitfall here is that it is almost impossible to prepare a question of this type in such a manner than one and only one correct answer can be given. Completion type questions lend themselves to answers by varying the form of the same word having the same meaning but varying in appropriateness, and to different words or names for the same items, operations and processes. Furthermore, completion type questions are sometimes designed to be answered by phrases rather than a single word; hence, multiplying many times the difficulties of following the prepared answer score card in scoring the papers. Finally, it is important for the completion type question to give consideration to the answer expected from persons with different degrees of technical knowledge. For instance:

Earned Surplus is the balance of net _____.

The junior accountant would probably say that: Earned Surplus is the balance of net profits of a corporation since the date of incorporation which has not been distributed to the shareholders.

³ Donald J. Sublette, "The Preparation of Pencil and Paper Tests," *Public Personnel Review*, Vol. 11, No. 1, January, 1941, p. 11.

The senior accountant would probably complete the statement as follows:

Earned Surplus is the balance of net profits, income and gains of a corporation from the date of incorporation (or from the date when a deficit was absorbed by a charge against the capital surplus created by a value of the capital stock or otherwise) after deducting distributions to stockholders and transfers to capital-stock accounts when made out of such surplus.⁴

The *Multiple Choice* question is a third type of short-answer questions. The greatest difficulty in framing this type of question is to construct it in such a fashion that the correct answer cannot be easily had by a process of elimination. For instance, the only one answer to the following question can be easily determined in just that manner:

A corporation's annual income should include, among other things one of the following:

- (1) Annual franchise tax.
- (2) Premiums on sale of its capital stock
- (3) Donations to the Red Cross
- (4) Gain from buying and selling of its stock in trade

Or, to take an example from a recent test given in Texas in which the answer is not quite so obvious, yet fairly simple to detect:

A business is the beneficiary of an endowment insurance policy on the life of a valued employee. After a period of years the annual increase of the cash-surrender value of the policy became in excess of the annual premium. This excess annual increase in value over and above the annual premium may be treated as:

- (1) expense;
- (2) a contingent liability;
- (3) a liability;
- (4) an intangible asset;
- (5) income.

Another pitfall is the drafting of questions that miss the point entirely because of the fine degree of exactness required in the answer, or because debatable points involving the exact answer. For example:

The following items are found in the income account of the X-Corporation:

Net profit on the sale of merchandise during the current year \$80,000

⁴The definition given by the American Institute of Accountants. See *Accounting Research Bulletins*, No. 9 (Special), May, 1941, p. 84.

Loss on sale of real estate (current year)	8,000
Additional depreciation on fixed assets for prior years, recognized in the current year	22,000
Write-down an abandoned plant	10,000
Unamortized discount on bonds redeemed and cancelled	15,000
Is the corporation's income for the current year:	

(1) \$25,000

(2) \$80,000

(3) \$72,000

(4) \$57,000

(5) \$47,000

Matching Related Items is another "short-answer" type question. For example: In one column balance sheet classes of items are listed and in a parallel column balance sheet items to be classified are given, (only one balance sheet item for each balance sheet class is given and no items are listed that do not belong on the balance sheet).

*Column One**Column Two*

(1) Intangible Fixed Assets

(a) Cash

(2) Current Assets

(b) Buildings

(3) Fixed Liabilities

(c) Preferred Stock

(4) Capital Stock

(d) Goodwill

(5) Fixed Assets

(e) Bonds Payable

Other types of "short-answer" questions and variations in the types already mentioned could be illustrated, but enough has been said to show that the "short-answer" question tests knowledge or seeks information in a piece meal fashion and furnishes little information to the examiner as to the literary ability of an applicant and as to his ability to organize and logically carry out to a conclusion complex ideas. Achievement tests, such as those designed to test knowledge of grammar and spelling can be used to obtain some idea as to the applicant's literary ability, but it appears that a person seeking an accounting position should be required to show skill and knowledge in the application of accounting principles to rather complex problems in business or governmental situations. The degree of complexity written into the problems and the familiarity with the application of accounting principles and the methodologies of the profession required of the candidate should depend on the technical requirements of the position for which the examination is conducted. In other words, questions of the same degree of difficulty and requiring the same amount of technical knowl-

edge and familiarity with the "tools" of the profession should not be given to accountants of different classes.

The intention here is not to leave an impression that all "short-answer" questions are bad or worthless, for if properly drafted they may be made a part of an accounting examination. However, the higher the level of candidates being examined the less applicable questions of this type seem to become. Examiners should not lose sight of the fact that the "stock in trade" of the accountant is business data, usually expressed in figures and that an accounting examination should test the accountants skill and methods of handling such data and his ability to present an intelligible interpretation of the business facts included in figures.

As an illustration, a candidate may be very familiar with accounting terminology and with the definitions of account classes, or he may be able to recognize or recite certain principles, or he may quickly recognize a method of analysis applicable to a certain type of data; yet he might be wholly lacking in ability to apply certain principles or to employ properly the method which he recognizes as applicable. "Free-answer" questions requiring a demonstration of skill and a knowledge of methods of application bring out the candidate's inabilities, if any, in this respect, and permit the examiner to test the candidate not on knowledge alone, but on the *integration* of knowledge.

Questions of this type are much more difficult to score than are questions of the "short-answer" type. To properly score a "free-answer" test dealing with accounting problems, the scorer should be an accountant thoroughly trained in accounting principles and their applications. The score on a free answer question may be determined by a check list of points to be included in the candidate's answer, or on the basis of a standard score for answers of varying degree of quality, or two or more persons may appraise the answer independently and an average taken of the different scores allowed.

The "Free-Answer" type of question is not free from pitfalls for the examiner as pointed out by Mr. Donald J. Sublette, Secretary and Chief Examiner of the Detroit Civil Service Commission, in a recent article:

First, free answer questions should never be used to test information as such. *Second*, the wording of each question should be sufficiently clear to secure reasonably uniform interpretation of the question and reasonable uniformity at least in the form of answering. *Third*, the questions and instructions should not be so detailed as to give away

or suggest the answer, or to prevent the measuring of traits which it is desired to measure.*

In general, however, it seems that a form of the "free-answer" question is better suited for accounting examinations than the "short-answer" type of question, because of the need to test skill and application of principles. Especially is this true of examinations designed for testing accountants for positions above the junior accountant level.

* Donald J. Sublette, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

The Constitution of the Southwestern Social Science Association

Adopted March 27, 1937

ARTICLE I — NAME

The name of this Association is "The Southwestern Social Science Association," which is the continuation and extension of the Association formerly known as "The Southwestern Political and Social Science Association," and founded in 1920 under the name of "Southwestern Political Science Association."

ARTICLE II — PURPOSE

The purpose of the Association is the promotion, cultivation, and correlation of the Social Sciences and their application to the solution of social problems with particular reference to the Southwestern States. The attainment of this purpose shall be furthered by the encouragement of research, by holding program meetings with attendance open to the public, by publication and dissemination of information and opinion on matters of concern in the various Social Sciences, and in such other manner as the Executive Council may direct.

ARTICLE III — MEMBERSHIP

Membership in the Association shall be open to any individual interested in the promotion of the purpose of the Association. Membership is in the Association, and any member may participate in the activities of such subject-matter Sections as he may choose. To promote the growth and fullest success of the subject matter Sections in their programs, members shall indicate (when assuming membership and annually upon payment of dues) those Sections which represent their field or fields of special interests and in which they wish to work.

The amount of the annual dues shall be fixed by the Association at its annual meeting. Clubs, libraries, and other organizations, upon the payment of the equivalent of annual dues may receive the publications of the Association.

Membership shall not be restricted to any particular geographic or political territory, but shall be open to all persons interested in the social problems of particular significance to the Southwestern States.

ARTICLE IV — OFFICERS

The officers of the Association shall be a President, two Vice-Presidents, a Secretary-Treasurer, an Editor-in-Chief of Publications, a General Program Chairman, and the Section Chairmen.

The President and Vice-Presidents shall be elected at the annual meetings of the Association. The Secretary-Treasurer and the Editor-in-Chief of Publications shall be appointed by the remainder of the Executive Council. The General Program Chairman shall be appointed by the President. The Section Chairmen shall

be elected by their respective Sections. All officers shall serve for one year or until their successors are duly elected or appointed and assume office.

A vacancy in the office of President shall be filled for the unexpired term by the first Vice-President. A vacancy in any other office shall be filled for the unexpired term by appointment by the President.

The officers of the Association, together with the two most recent past presidents and the most recent past general program chairman, shall constitute the Executive Council. The Executive Council shall serve as a Board of Directors of a corporation and shall conduct the affairs of the Association, designate the duties of officers of the Association, and shall report to the annual meeting.

A Publications Editorial Board shall be constituted by election of Associate Editors, one selected from and by each subject-matter Section at the annual meeting. Any Section Chairman may also serve as Associate Editor representing his Section if and when so decided for the ensuing year by the Section at the annual meeting. The Editorial Board, of which the Editor-in-Chief shall be ex-officio Chairman, shall formulate publication policies, and apportion tasks to its members so as to provide assistance to the Editor-in-Chief.

ARTICLE V — MEETINGS

There shall be an annual meeting of the Association at a time and place to be designated by the Executive Council, for the transaction of business and the discussion of social problems. Notice of such annual meeting shall be sent to all members of the Association at least one month before such meeting. At the annual meetings, the Executive Council, the President, the Secretary-Treasurer, and the Editor-in-Chief of Publications of the Association shall make their annual reports and the elective officers of the Association for the ensuing year shall be chosen. Such members as are present at the annual meetings shall constitute a quorum. Special meetings may be called by a majority of the members of the Executive Council for the transaction of business or for the presentation of papers and discussions, provided notice thereof is sent to all members not less than one month before the proposed meeting.

ARTICLE VI — SECTIONS

The Sections of the Association are Accounting, Agricultural Economics, Business Administration, Economics, Government, History, Human Geography, and Sociology. Any Section may select such name and officers as it deems necessary. The Executive Council shall provide for the growth of the Association by broadening the scope and/or the names of Sections now in existence or by creating new Sections, if the welfare of the Association requires it.

ARTICLE VII — PROGRAMS

The General Program Chairman shall be directly responsible to the Executive Council for the general planning and direction of the non-business program at the annual meeting. Programs may be held separately by individual Sections, or jointly by two or more of them.

Responsibility for the preparation of program sessions of individual Sections

shall be vested in the respective Section Chairmen. Program Section Chairmen shall give preference to members of the Association for participation on programs. It shall be the duty of the Secretary-Treasurer to provide each Section Chairman with a list of the membership of the Association for use in arranging programs.

ARTICLE VIII — FORMAL PROCEDURES

The Executive Council shall adopt, and at least annually shall consider the revision of By-Laws needful to promote the purpose of the Association, and which are not inconsistent with this Constitution. Such By-Laws shall be currently filed with the Secretary of the Association, and together with the Constitution, shall be published to the membership of the Association annually.

Amendments to this Constitution may be made by a two-thirds vote of the members present at any duly authorized business meeting of the Association provided that the amendment shall have been proposed by a majority of the Executive Council or by petition of fifteen or more members and submitted to the membership by publication in the *Southwestern Social Science Quarterly*, the official publication of the Association, three or more months in advance of the vote on the amendment. This Constitution may be amended without prior notice by unanimous vote at any duly authorized business meeting of the Association.

Procedures not otherwise established by the Constitution and/or By-Laws, shall conform to the latest edition of Roberts, *Rules of Order*.

By-Laws (1937)

SECTION I: The Executive Council shall meet on call of the President or on written request of three members thereof. Seven members shall constitute a quorum.

SECTION II: The Association shall publish a quarterly journal, *The Southwestern Social Science Quarterly*, which shall be sent to all members of the Association.

SECTION III: The membership dues for active members shall be three dollars (\$3.00); for sustaining members, five dollars (\$5.00); for contributing members, ten dollars (\$10.00); for life members, one hundred dollars (\$100.00).

SECTION IV: Membership shall date from the beginning of the quarter following receipt of their first annual dues.

SECTION V: Members may resign upon written notice to the Secretary, sent before the termination of their year.

SECTION VI: Members delinquent in their dues shall be restored in good standing on payment of last year's and this year's dues.

Book Reviews

EDITED BY O. DOUGLAS WEEKS
The University of Texas

MacCorkle, Stuart A., *Municipal Administration*, (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1942, pp. viii, 406).

Textbooks in the field of municipal administration differ in their approach to the subject. Some place emphasis upon the services rendered and treat in detail the functions performed. In one book which makes this approach we find separate chapters on such subjects as airports, hospitals, public markets and sewerage. Other books—and the tendency appears to be in this direction—emphasize the principles of public administration as applied in the field of municipal management. Professor McCorkle has taken the latter approach, placing stress on the staff and auxiliary agencies rather than on the line. He states in his preface that no attempt is made "to discuss thoroughly the various services and agencies engaged in municipal housekeeping functions; nor are the relative merits of fire apparatus, paving materials, methods of water purification, the disposal of sewage and garbage, and the like, discussed in any detail. Instead, the work is confined chiefly to a discussion of those agencies and departments which are most concerned with the controls of administration. Emphasis is placed upon the tools of management."

The twenty chapters are divided into five parts: (1) A Background of Theory, (2) Municipal Administrative Practices, (3) Auxiliary Services, (4) Major Purpose Functions, and (5) Public Relations. Only four chapters of one hundred pages are devoted to functions. The result is that the treatment of many important functions is brief. City planning is covered in four pages; zoning in six pages; housing in seven pages; traffic regulation and the parking problem are not mentioned. This is inevitable in approaching the subject with emphasis upon the tools of management. If more space is devoted to functions, then general principles must suffer from brevity of treatment. A choice must be made by an author and for Professor MacCorkle it was to emphasize tools of management rather than the functions or line services.

The fundamental principles of administrative management are well presented. The treatment thus avoids what President Hutchins of the University of Chicago has critically referred to in much college work as a hurried tour of the current events of the subject. The author has skilfully integrated the fundamental principles with actual governmental operation. His experience as Director of an active Bureau of Municipal Research has been of great value in presenting the practical aspects of municipal administration.

In the section on "A Background of Theory," the importance of organization as a part of administration is discussed. The division of labor principle and the

need of coordination of effort are clearly presented. The resulting tasks for the administrator, including the span of control principle, are discussed in connection with the problem of setting up an organization. This leads the author into a consideration of line, staff and auxiliary services. The functions of administration are treated under six headings: technical operations; commercial operations; financial operations; security operations; accounting operations; and administrative operations.

An excellent summary of the theories of organization and administration is provided. Part II, "Municipal Administrative Practices," presents a brief discussion of forms of municipal government as they relate to administration, and some of the external influences on municipal administration. The extent to which these external influences, over which municipal officials have little control, call for adjustment on the part of the administration, are emphasized. The author is skilful in transferring his discussion from principles to the realities; from theory to practice.

Approximately one-half of the book (Part III) is devoted to "Auxiliary Services." Personnel administration and problems and fiscal management are treated in ten chapters. The author gives a picture of present practices and problems, and expresses his opinion as to proper methods of meeting these problems. The interrelationship of governmental units is treated, especially in the chapters on fiscal management. The line services are discussed in four chapters under the title of "Major Purpose Functions." In keeping with the author's decision to emphasize the tools of management this section is general. The problems are presented in the various fields but details as to practices in various types of cities are lacking. The author is to be commended for avoiding technical engineering problems such as sewage treatment and pavement construction.

In Part V of the book there is a concluding chapter on public relations which is devoted primarily to reporting to the public. The purpose, the desirability and the methods of public reporting are all considered.

The book is written in a clear and interesting style. It should attract and hold the interest of students. The principles and methods of municipal management are made dynamic and real. Not only college teachers and students but municipal officials and employees will find this a valuable study of the tools of municipal management.

University of Illinois

CHARLES M. KNEIER

Porterfield, Austin L., *Creative Factors in Scientific Research; A Social Psychology of Scientific Knowledge Studying the Interplay of Psychological and Cultural Factors in Science with Emphasis upon Imagination*. (Durham: Duke University Press. 1941, pp. xi, 282.)

Two techniques of social research have come into general use as a means of making the content of knowledge in this field more scientific—the case study and the statistical method. These have largely succeeded the "social survey" that was in vogue for a time. The social scientists are greatly indebted to Quetelet, LePlay and Durkheim for pointing the way toward more scientific results in the field

of the social sciences. In this country Professor Mays-Smith of Columbia University was the first American sociologist to use statistical data in his courses, and, since his time, Giddings and others have tried to make sociological knowledge more rigidly scientific through the use of statistical methods. In his *Inductive Sociology*, Giddings defines sociology as a science, the method of which is essentially statistical.

Although statistical methods are being increasingly used and no doubt the subject matter of much of our knowledge in the field of sociology is becoming more authoritative, there is a difference of opinion as to what results should be obtained from the use of this method. Followers of Comte and the positive school think sociological research should lead, like other kinds of research, to generalized statements of facts. Others think that scientific research should determine social processes and social causation. In other words, social causation occurs on the psychic level where the reaction of social phenomena is consistently occurring. Those who hold this view doubt that statistical method is completely adequate as an instrument of scientific research.

I take it that Doctor Porterfield subscribes to this latter view, for in his book he expresses the belief, after expressing his doubt about the adequacy of statistical methods, that it is necessary to grasp the "psychological, socio-psychological, and cultural factors that have interacted on the development of all sciences and scientific method." Doctor Porterfield states that methodology may supply factual knowledge without producing complete understanding. The discovery process, therefore, is not complete until adequate techniques are supported by logical methods. The scientists, of course, in every field agree with this generalization.

The author's view of the psychological factor in science is not new, but his discussion of it is interesting. He makes a rather good case for the creative insights of the scientific imagination as a stimulus to research and as an appropriate aid to the particular technique that is utilized.

Adhering to the thesis that psychological and cultural influences have played their part in the work of all great scientists in every field, Doctor Porterfield uses Galileo, Charles Darwin, Auguste Comte, and his successors, to illustrate his point. While, of course, he could have greatly extended the biographical aspects of his subject, by taking a brilliant illustration from the physical, biological, and the social sciences, he has amply illustrated the methods by which research workers in all ages have obtained their results.

In discussing recent trends in the closing chapter, after calling attention to the inadequacy of some of the popular methods of research, Doctor Porterfield reaches the conclusion that functional or synthetic sociology yields more adequate insights for those seeking results than any other. More and more sociologists are concerned with applying the facts of sociology to concrete situations, and, in reaching satisfactory conclusions, it is necessary to include all the factors necessary for objective considerations. Of course, it is always a problem as to the number of factors the logical and an adequate technique can produce. This is where constructive imagination plays its most important part as a contributing agency in the process.

If fact finding is to gain in social significance, as we all believe it will, this book should help to chart our course for the future. Doctor Porterfield has read widely and quotes voluminously from the leading authorities in support of his thesis. While the author does not include a separate bibliography in his book, the reader will find adequate reference to authorities in this field scattered through the text. There are an inexcusable number of typographical errors occurring in the book, some of which change the meaning of a few sentences. It is not sufficient to correct these by an errata slip. But *Creative Factors in Scientific Research* can be recommended to serious students of the social sciences as a suggestive and helpful volume.

University of Oklahoma

W. B. BIZZELL

McGovern, William Montgomery, *From Luther to Hitler; The History of Fascist-Nazi Political Philosophy*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1941, pp. ix, 683.)

It is well known that the ideologies of Italian Fascism and German Nazism are synthetic concoctions, the ingredients of which have been drawn from many and varied containers of political philosophy both of the immediate and remote past. This Professor McGovern attempts to demonstrate by an extended and careful excursion into the ideas of political writers and schools of political thought of the Middle Ages, the early Modern period, and, especially, the 18th, 19th, and early 20th centuries. His opening and two final chapters are devoted to excellent summaries and analyses of Fascism and Nazism and to a penetrating comparison of the differences between these two bodies of totalitarian thought.

The book is divided into four parts. The first part deals with the emergence and decline of *étatisme* and absolute monarchy from the Reformation to the French Revolution. Part Two is concerned with the political philosophy of Kant and its influence upon T. H. Green and Thomas Carlyle, and with the teachings of Fichte and Hegel. In the third part, the Traditionalists, the Irrationalists, and the "Social Darwinists" are considered. Here Mazzini, von Treitschke, the Historical School of Jurisprudence, James, Bergson, Nietzsche, Wallas, Tarde, Sorel, Pareto, Spencer, Bagehot, Gumpłowicz, Stoddard, Gobineau, H. S. Chamberlain, and others come in for considerable examination. Part Four contains the two final chapters indicated above.

While each of these sources may have contributed something to the philosophies of Fascism and Nazism, the connection in some cases seems rather remote. Political conceptions of the past which have emphasized the supremacy of the state and the necessity of expanding its functions for the social good have afforded background for modern democratic philosophy quite as much as for the totalitarians, and no past form of "state-worship" or of authoritarianism has ever gone to the absurd extremes reached by the idea-mongers of present-day Italy and Germany. Many of the theories associated with autocracy in former centuries have been repudiated by these preachers of the *Führerstaat*. Moreover, the German Idealists, who provided many ideas for the irrationalist Nazis, were thoroughgoing rationalists, and irrelationalism as a system of thought has made

some contribution to liberal philosophy. To the reviewer, Fascism and Nazism, to a great extent, do not represent the fruition or the popularization of earlier philosophies, but rather a cruel travesty of many of them. By way of criticism, it should also be noted that Machiavelli is entirely omitted, even though his *Prince* has been much admired by Mussolini, and its advice to the ruler has been well followed by Hitler. More attention should have been paid, also, to the contributions of Marxian Socialism to the Fascist-Nazi fund of ideas.

These criticisms, however, are not intended to detract from the many excellent qualities of Professor McGovern's book. His scholarship is unquestioned, and his treatment and style are exceedingly clear. He brings together much material necessary to an understanding of the totalitarian ideologies. In fact, this work is indispensable as a reference-book in courses in contemporary political thought. It can readily be employed as a text for a part of such courses.

The University of Texas

O. DOUGLAS WEEKS

Pegg, C. H., et al., *American Society and the Changing World*. (New York: F. S. Crofts & Co., 1942, pp. xiii, 601.)

This book is an outgrowth of an introductory course in the social sciences which has been offered for several years at the University of North Carolina. The first part deals in eleven chapters with recent social changes in other parts of the world, especially with the internal and foreign policy of the major nations; the second part treats in nineteen chapters the United States and its problems of government and foreign policy, of conservation, agriculture and industry, and also the problems of labor, of social security, of the consumers, of the family, crime, population and ethnic minorities. The first part obviously presents the more difficult task.

Differences of opinion and even contradictions between various authors are to be expected in a book like this. There will also be found very likely some more minor errors such as that on page 86 where the conservative putschist "Generallandschaftsdirektor" Kapp, who held a position somewhat like that of a regional director of the farm credit administration is erroneously referred to as a "general" and as the actual leader of the putsch of 1920.

Furthermore, the interpretation of political processes is, of course, more or less subject to dispute in many cases. While it is unlikely that Mr. Dugan will be able to defend his statement that the British Labor party professed "a utopian (!) socialist policy" (p. 134), Mr. Pegg's view of National Socialism as "a non-class movement of national and revolutionary character" (p. 89) will be shared by many readers, although at the time referred to, it was still a movement of the economically weaker elements of the middle classes, and, in any case, from its very inception a *counter-revolutionary* movement.

Finally, the presentation and interpretation of contemporary political changes in foreign countries if it is to be adequate, requires well-balanced emphasis and adequate historical perspective. Otherwise even an accurate factual account will fail to achieve the ultimate aim of conveying to the student an understanding of the moving forces and the significance of the phenomena. In this respect the

present book its not free of shortcomings. The chapter on Scandinavia, for example, does not give due consideration to the political labor movement and to the Labor Unions—without which the achievements of the cooperative societies do not become intelligible. Or, to give another illustration, the creation of hereditary farms (p. 97) was really not an innovation of the Nazis; a similar custom had been prevalent in certain regions and received recognition by the courts; the Nazis merely made it compulsory law everywhere, at the same time destroying certain essential elements of the old custom.

Such fateful events as the dismissal of Bruening should be explained by their real "causes"—in this case the impending abolition of government subsidies to large estates in Eastern Germany and the project of a vigorous farm-settlement policy which aroused the antagonism of the agrarian wing of the conservatives.

Only if the social groups that determine the internal and foreign policy of a nation are clearly disclosed, as for example in Mr. Dugan's chapter on Great Britain, can the student obtain a true understanding of the connections between the various aspects of a regime, only then can he realize the iron consistency in the course of history.

On the whole the inherent difficulties of the task have been overcome and an instructive and interesting picture of the world today has been composed.

The second part was, of course, less subject to the difficulties indicated. This reviewer has read with special pleasure the contributions by Messrs. Brooks and Sitterson. The general philosophy in this survey of contemporary American problems is that of a well tempered but determined social rationalism. The book ends on a note of optimism, outlining a program for the future which may be characterized as a mild form of state guided and restrained capitalism with a heavy dosis of social reforms aiming at economic security and at a more abundant level of living under preservation of a maximum of personal freedom.

Louisiana State University

RUDOLF HEBERLE

Tate, Merze, *The Disarmament Illusion: The Movement for a Limitation of Armaments to 1907*. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1942, pp. xiv, 398.)

The "staggering burden of armaments" has been the subject of many a historical inquiry, of many a diatribe by demagogues capitalizing on pacifism and isolationism, of many a sermon preached to congregations no better acquainted with the realities of international politics than were the preachers. It is a subject peculiarly calculated to appeal to those who make religious emotionalism and sentimental humanitarianism substitute for knowledge and common sense.

Fortunately, the author of this volume does not employ the utopian approach to her subject. She is content primarily to give a well-ordered and clearly analyzed picture of the movement for limitation of armaments from 1870 to the close of the second Hague Conference. To accomplish her purpose she first presents a brief summary of the movement for disarmament down to 1870. Thereafter she discusses in Part I the several factors and groups operating to create a public opinion on the subject from 1870 to 1898. In Part II she ex-

amines the Czar's Rescript and the reception accorded it by both public opinion and governments. Part III she devotes to a study of the two Hague conferences primarily as they related to the question of limitation of armaments.

The main thesis of the author is that no plan for a limitation of armaments based upon the acceptance of the *status quo* will ever be generally welcomed. It is to be noted that she refers to voluntary disarmament, for, assuredly, involuntary disarmament of trouble-making states has been achieved for a time and is susceptible of more effective application in the future. In the face of this thesis she, nevertheless, comes near to an acceptance of Grey's tendency to attribute World War I primarily to militarism. This same predilection may be observed in her comments on the naval and military officers represented on the delegations to the conferences and on the British insistence upon the retention of the right to capture private property at sea. In the light of the admirable picture that she herself presents of the complex nature of the forces and factors involved, we must conclude that the experts and the British were correct; in other words, let us once for all give up the childish hope that armaments can be taken out of the whole tangled complex of international politics. Certainly the author does not believe this can be done, however much she might wish to see the nations disarm. On this same point a statement in the Foreword deserves comment. The inference is that a public, well-informed by means of the modern technological wonders, may in time make itself felt. The author clearly shows that so-called public opinion was pretty weak on the subject at the time of the Hague conferences. Since then, this reviewer would like to observe, those states most influenced by presumably the best informed public opinions of the world came near to irretrievable disaster by neglecting their armaments. In short, thus far disarmament has not been merely an illusion; it has been also a snare and a delusion, causing our most humanitarian political societies to play into the hands of modern, scientific barbarism. Nor can this be attributed to the failure to grant arms equality to Germany before 1933.

The author deserves great credit for this careful, stimulating study. She has combed through a vast deal of material but has succeeded, nevertheless, in keeping her subject alive and fresh. Furthermore, she avoids defeatism and cynicism, whatever the failures of the past. It is studies like this that will help us get a better proportioned picture, with a better perspective, of the whole intricate problem that the world will have to face when the United Nations, deluded too long by the pacifists and isolationists, finally overcome the enemy and begin the task of organizing the post-war world.

The University of Texas

CHARLES A. TIMM

McGinty, Garnie W., *Louisiana Redeemed: The Overthrow of Carpet-Bag Rule, 1876-1880*. (New Orleans: Pelican Publishing Company, 1941, pp. ix, 264, maps and graphs.)

From the political standpoint a period of civil war is a very regrettable national experience. When the victor imposes his will upon the vanquished and indulges in a period of vindictive rule, such as the Reconstruction years in

our country's history were, it is even more regrettable. In some of the seceded states reconstruction fortunately did not last as long as in others and white domination was soon a political fact. In South Carolina, Florida and Louisiana the carpet-bag-scalawag-negro regime was not suppressed until after a *modus operandi* was approved following the election of 1876.

"The change from Radical to Democratic rule constitutes an important period in the history of Louisiana," says Professor McGinty in his preface. It was the purpose of his study "to relate the steps by which the Louisianians regained control of their government, despite the tremendous problems that faced them, and then to trace the process of readjustment through each of the years of Governor [Francis T.] Nicholl's first administration, 1876-1880."

Professor McGinty did not find his research an easy task. The sources were scattered over the Mississippi valley from Chicago to New Orleans. Had the leading participants of the period committed "their thoughts and actions to writing," a neglect which he seems to lament, he would have had to wade through much more "highly partisan" material than that which the contemporary newspapers contained. Thus his task would have been greater than it was. The author's discovery that most of the personal papers of Governor Nicholls were destroyed by fire in October, 1931, must have been very disappointing. The use of the destroyed papers might have made the forming of conclusions in the paper much easier, if, perchance, the Nicholls papers were not partisan.

Louisiana's "Redeemer" was Francis T. Nicholls. He came upon the Louisiana political scene as the result of the election of 1876. For a while he and Stephen B. Packard, as heads of the contending factions, carried on a dual government until April 24, 1877. During Nicholl's administration the state of Louisiana received a new constitution. Commerce, transportation, agriculture, the condition of the negroes, and public education and public health were greatly improved.

Only a few errors are discernible, and these must be ascribed to the oversights in proofreading. Examples in point are the spelling of "supercede" (p. 56), the use of the colon before the quotation (p. 20) where no punctuation, it seems, was needed, the incomplete "Com-" for "Company" (p. 27), "court house" as two words instead of one (p. 39), "all together" for altogether (p. 70), and "Peoples' Police" for "People's Police" (p. 95). These errors do not seriously mar the effects of the story which, it must be emphasized, goes forward clearly and presents four years of a very significant period in the history of Louisiana.

The University of Texas

R. L. BIESELE

Zink, Harold, *Government and Politics in the United States* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1942, pp. xiii, 1091).

The ideal text in American Government would be one comprehensive enough to satisfy all instructors yet so entertainingly written that it would capture the interest of the most blasé student. This "dream" book has, of course, yet to be written; however, Harold Zink's *Government and Politics in the United States*, a new entry in the field, strives bravely toward this lofty ideal.

The book is comprehensive. Several of the newer texts in this field are thin and sketchy and are suitable for a one-semester course only. While not so downright encyclopedic as one or two of the standard texts, Zink's work is complete and solid.

Political scientists are notoriously dull writers; not more than two men in the field possess a first-rate literary style. Zink's style, if not brilliant, is well above the low standard set by his unimaginative colleagues. When he discusses the personality types of governors or the last hours of a state legislature's session, he becomes downright entertaining. His frequent references to personalities active in American politics at present add life to his writing.

Other relevant facts about the volume: It is written primarily from the geographical rather than the functional basis. It is up-to-the-minute. When compared to some of the standard texts that have not been revised recently, this fact becomes more apparent.

In terms of emphasis on subject matter Zink has several distinctive features. A chapter entitled "The Obligations of Citizenship," complementing the one on civil liberties, is the book's most thoroughly original feature. More space is devoted to pressure groups and public opinion than in some of the classic texts, and these subjects are handled in a most competent fashion. By contrast, little attention is given to constitutional history. Zink justifies this deemphasis in his Preface with the statement that "students are increasingly bringing from secondary schools as detailed a knowledge of American political and institutional history as can be offered in an introductory course in political science on the college level." This assertion is debatable. The reviewer, for instance, regrets to report that few of his students come equipped with any detailed knowledge of American institutional history.

The general impression to be conveyed is that *Government and Politics in the United States* is substantial and more readable than the average text. It deserves to become—and probably will become—one of the three or four most widely used texts in American Government.

The University of Texas

DONALD S. STRONG

Cowgill, Donald Olen, *Mobile Homes, A Study of Trailer Life* (Washington: American Council on Public Affairs, 1941, pp. vii, 127.)

This is another example of the helpful publishing service of the American Council on Public Affairs, a service designed to make available works that might not otherwise be published for no reason other than that of not being profitable commercial ventures.

The purpose of the study is well-stated in the author's own words—

"This study represents an attempt to make a small contribution to the sociological theory of mobility. The author chose to study trailer life, because he saw it as an experiment in living and felt that it would be a tremendous loss to allow the experiment to pass unrecorded. Specifically in terms of mobility, it appeared that this one factor had been isolated, that the con-

stellation of disorganizing factors that had played upon other mobile groups in our population, poverty, ignorance, poor housing, poor health, etc., were in this experiment brought under control, that is, they were largely absent. Here, then, was a highly mobile group of people with above average income, good education, normal health. What happened to them? What effects did mobility in and of itself have on people? What follows is an attempt to record the results of this experiment."

The methodology employed in making the study is adequately described in the opening pages of Chapter Two and summarized thus—

"It may be said that the author used two methods. He became one of the group of people he was studying and out of living with them and talking with them came to a measure of understanding of them. His observations and impressions are reported here. Secondly, he collected a body of statistical data through the medium of questionnaires to supplement and check upon his own observations."

The treatment of the data gathered by the above methods led to the following conclusions—

- (1) "It would seem that 15 percent might be a very generous estimate of proportion of the people of the nation who within a future in which no radical revolution of society is anticipated might find advantage in permanent residence in homes on wheels. (The trailer) is useful and pleasurable for some but not for all, nor even for any large proportion. It is here to stay, but it will probably never replace the stationary home."
- (2) (The trailer does not appear) "to be destroying personality integration and family integration of those who have sought this mode of life. We find them a stable, happy, dependable group living in communities that on the whole are well-regulated and are becoming more so."

The value of the book is greatly enhanced by the inclusion of 18 tables and 3 charts in the body of the text, 61 tables in Appendix A, and an excellent bibliography. It is somewhat marred by an awkward style as will be suggested by a re-reading of the quotations included in this review. This is the more to be regretted since the study itself is a significant piece of research. The American Council on Public Affairs is to be congratulated on its sponsorship.

The University of Texas

REX D. HOPPER

Hedin, Naboth (Ed.), *Social Welfare in Sweden*. (New York: The Royal Swedish Commission, New York World's Fair 1939, 1941, pp. 331.)

Because of its democratic politics and capitalistic economy, Sweden is often spoken of as resembling the United States. It is, therefore, of interest to note that under this system the Swedes have been able to achieve a measure of social welfare far ahead of our own. This they have done despite limited resources, sparsely settled areas and opposing private interests.

The volume under review brings together eight papers describing the main

features of the Swedish welfare system. The headings and authors are: "Public Health and Medical Care" by Axel Höjer, "Maternal and Child Welfare" by Otto R. Wangson, "Social Insurance in Sweden" by Tor Jerneman, "Swedish Unemployment Policy" by Gustav Möller, "Social Housing Policy in Sweden" by Alf Johansson, "Home Ownership in Sweden" by Waldemar Svensson, "Co-operative Housing in Sweden" by Ulla Alm, and "Swedish Adult Education" by Ragnar Lund. All but one of these papers have been published in the *Annals*.

The most conspicuous progress seems to have taken place in the field of public health. Smallpox, for example, has appeared in Sweden only twice since 1920, and syphilis cases have been reduced to about 400 a year. It is stated that "every cancer patient who can be helped by surgical or radiological treatment receives the very best of such care, regardless of his economic position or his place of residence" and further, "in no other country does the public have such fine opportunity for excellent hospital care as in Sweden." Since January, 1938, obstetrical care has been free.

In other fields, also, important developments have taken place, notably in social insurance, protection against unemployment, and in cooperative housing. In the case of housing, however, a satisfactory condition has not yet been reached. The rooms in most of the dwelling units are both too small and too few for the number of occupants. But government aid and cooperation are expected ultimately to provide adequate shelter for all.

Since Sweden is a country with a virtually stationary population, her progressiveness should prove enlightening to those who believe that economic and social advancement are possible only to young and rapidly increasing peoples.

Louisiana State University

CARL M. ROSENQUIST

Chapple, Eliot Dismore and Coon, Carleton Stevens, *Principles of Anthropology*. (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1942, pp. 707, maps 6, illus. 13)

Textbooks of anthropology extant today may be classified in two ways: those which stress historical processes in the development of culture and those which treat the subject from the functional point of view. In teaching cultural anthropology, a professor usually selects a class text by an author in either the historical or functionalist camp and bases his lectures on the opposite point of view with the hope that in this way the student will become familiar with both approaches. Chapple and Coon here present a text which successfully unites both viewpoints in anthropology and treats the subject as a science of human relations. Inasmuch as it attempts to explain the phenomena of human relations in terms of their changes in time, it is both functional and historical in outlook.

The book is divided into five sections as follows: biology and human relations, environment and technology, the development of institutions, and symbols of human relations. These present anthropology as a unifying center around which a science of human relations can be built. Such a science must not only be fostered but its results must be applied to society. "Only when the science of human relations becomes as fully developed as the older natural sciences, can we hope to eliminate sources of individual maladjustment, bring about harmonious rela-

tions between the many groups making up a single nation, work out more effective and democratic systems of government, and extend their sway to the relationships between nations. Only with such a science can the basic problem of our civilization be solved,—how to increase our human adjustment and at the same time to increase our technological efficiency."

This is an excellent book, packed with illustrative information and stimulating in its thesis. Beginning classes will probably find it too advanced but it should prove a most suitable textbook for courses in primitive society, human relations, man and society and the like. Moreover, every professional worker in the social sciences will find the book profitable and thought-provoking.

Norman, Oklahoma

FORREST E. CLEMENTS

Cantril, Hadley, *The Psychology of Social Movements*. (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1941, pp. xv, 274.)

Cantril states that he has two purposes in writing this book: first, he intends to provide an adequate theoretical treatment of social movements; second, he candidly admits his desire and intention "... to influence specific value judgments concerning the merits of various social movements."

In accordance with this two-fold objective the book is divided into two parts. The first part, entitled "Basic Concepts," constitutes the theoretical explanation for social movements. Although cultural, social, and historical factors are recognized, ultimate causation is found in individual psychology: desires, fears, ambitions, frustrations.

In the second part, the author's value judgments apparently obtrude only in the chapter on lynching mobs—which should never have been included anyhow. The other chapters provide enlightening illustrations of recent organizations functioning as nuclei of social movements: the Kingdom of Father Divine, the Oxford Group of Dr. Buchman, the Townsend Plan, and the Nazi Party. Cantril's retention of the admittedly interesting but irrelevant mob materials breaks the unity of the book. Furthermore, it prevents any implicit concept of "social movement" from emerging, and emphasizes his failure to be explicit on this fundamental conceptual point.

Apart from these defects the work is an interesting and valuable addition to the meager literature on this important type of phenomena, marginal to, but neglected by, both social psychology and sociology.

Louisiana State University

EDGAR A. SCHULER

Book Notes

Probably the latest of the many studies envisaging a federalized Europe is Abraham Weinfeld's *Towards a United States of Europe: Proposals of a Basic Structure* (Washington: American Council on Public Affairs, 1942, pp. 52, paper ed.). The author does not claim to present more than a general statement or discussion of some of the fundamental problems that his proposed federation would have to face, such as nationalism, the territorial scope of the union, separation of powers, the Congress, private rights, minorities, colonies, and territorial distribution of power. He would exclude Russia and possibly Britain, but would include Turkey and would give all colonies now held by the separate states to the federation. In its main lines the proposed constitution follows closely that of the United States, with a few borrowings from other federal systems. One unique feature is the provision for the organization of cultural minorities in each state into public corporations. All military power would belong to the federal government, with the states not even being allowed to maintain militias. The author does not consider economic problems except as they relate to tariffs and taxes. He does not suggest the probable danger of the huge Germanic bloc, nor does he consider the possibility of danger inherent in a huge European federation of 326,000,000 people, highly industrialized and armed, as against Britain and Russia, not to mention the remainder of the world. In presenting this brief study and draft constitution the author has performed a worthwhile service. The problems he poses will have to be faced by the United Nations when the Axis Powers are defeated. We should be studying them in anticipation of victory.

C.T.

The revised edition of *American State Government* (Boston: D. C. Heath and Co., 1941, pp. xv, 944) by W. Brooke Graves brings up to date the most comprehensive and usable text to appear in this field within recent years. Retaining the organization of the first edition except that state constitutional conventions are treated in a new chapter, much new illustrative material is presented in addition to the obvious changes requiring a revision. While longer than the first edition, approximately 150 pages have been devoted to selected references, a table of cases, an appendix (Fourth Revision of the Model State Constitution) and the index as compared to approximately 100 pages originally given to these portions of the book. Professor Graves continues to combine a penetrating formal and realistic approach, both with respect to the position of the state in the American federal system and in his analysis of the internal workings of state government. The extent of and need for cooperative activity on the part of the states with each other and with the federal government emphasize an operating unity which is frequently perverted in textbook treatment by an unwarranted emphasis upon purely legal considerations. State government, with careful attention to its formal and structural aspects, is still treated as a going concern

conditioned by social forces and presenting problems related thereto. Student and instructor will find the balanced treatment most satisfactory. H.A.C.

Karl A. Bosworth in his *Tennessee Valley County* (Bureau of Public Administration, University of Alabama, 1941, pp. vii, 117) presents a second case study of county government in Alabama as a companion to his earlier *Black Belt County*. Building on a vivid analysis of the economy and culture of the county and a real understanding of its politics and elections, the author succeeds admirably in going beyond a formal presentation of offices and functions which so frequently characterizes studies of this nature. The human side of administration is not ignored and one feels that he has been more than introduced to those who are actually doing the job and what they represent. The impact of Tennessee Valley Authority operations upon agriculture, education, health, roads, and assessed valuations is detailed with the observation that the county governmental institutions and practices have been influenced but little. Tennessee Valley County government remains a "picture of sharp contrasts in political attitudes and governmental performance" and these contrasts "reflect the sharp variety which characterizes life and living in the community." H.A.C.

William E. S. Flory's *Prisoners of War* (Washington: American Council on Public Affairs, 1942, pp. 179) possesses assuredly the quality of timeliness. However, this study is no quick survey hurried into print because of the occasion; rather, it is the result of a careful, scholarly examination of a vast quantity of both primary and secondary material drawn especially from United States, British, French, and German sources. Some of the important topics he treats are international law concepts on prisoners, categories of prisoners, status and maintenance, activities and compensation, police power limitations, and methods of release. In the last chapter the dynamic factors in the developments of the rules on prisonership are summarized and some significant questions are raised relating, for the most part, to the inherent nature of "total war" as it may affect prisoners of war. It is a scholarly study, tracing, as it does, the development of the more important rules from early times to the present. The author might, perhaps, have included more statistical data on prisoners and more information on the fate of prisoners after release at the close of wars, but within the scope of his plan he has presented a well-proportioned treatment. C.T.

Edward D. Allen's *Analysis of Highway Costs and Highway Taxation With an Application to Story County, Iowa* (Ames: Iowa State College, 1941, pp. 128) is a bulletin (No. 152) of the Iowa Engineering Experiment Station. It reports an exhaustive study of highway costs in "their relationship to tax policies" and in "their allocation among various groups of beneficiaries especially between vehicle users and general taxpayers, and among various vehicle classes." Costs are defined to include "depreciation and interest on unamortized investment, in addition to cash outlays for maintenance, administration, and traffic control." On the ton-mile basis of measuring benefits, passenger car owners con-

tribute more than their share of highway costs, owners of light trucks pay their share, but owners of heavy trucks provide less than their share. Theoretical analysis supplements actual data and appendices include a history of highway finance and administration in Iowa from 1904 to 1939. H.A.C.

Paul M. A. Linebarger's *The China of Chiang K'ai-shek; A Political Study* (Boston: World Peace Foundation, 1941, pp. xi, 449) is necessary reading for those who desire a real understanding of present-day China—its government, politics, political philosophy, and political leadership. The author spent many years in China and writes in a careful and scholarly fashion. Five chapters are devoted to the constitutional, governmental, and administrative arrangements in China. Other chapters describe the Kuomintang, the Communist and minor parties, and certain extra-political forces. A final chapter deals with Sun Yat-sen and Chiang K'ai-shek. Charts contribute to the understanding of the governmental institutions, and extensive appendices add to the value of the work. O.D.W.

The Michigan Retail Sales and Use Taxes (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, Michigan Governmental Study No. 5, 1941, pp. viii, 154) by Robert S. Ford and E. Fenton Shepherd revises and expands a previous publication, *The Retail Sales Tax in Michigan*. Following an analysis of the Michigan sales tax and administrative problems related thereto, the Michigan tax is compared with sales taxes in California, Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio. Financial results of the sales tax in Michigan are presented and the constitutional problems of sales taxes generally are examined, partially to prepare the way for an analysis of the Michigan use tax. Appendices include financial data related to the sales tax by Michigan counties and a table of cases relating to the study. H.A.C.

The study of public opinion and propaganda techniques is becoming a prerequisite to a full understanding of the functioning of modern political and economic society. Its importance is doubled during war. In the past we have had too few fundamental studies in the field, but George L. Bird and Frederic E. Merwin's *The Newspaper and Society* (New York: Prentice Hall, 1942, pp. xviii, 627) is a step in the right direction. As with all collections of excerpts and readings, there exists no ready evaluation of forces and results. But the volume gives to the good student an easy access to a veritable mine of very fine material. Most teachers would have preferred much longer introductions by the editors. C.A.M.E.

Not By Arms Alone (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1941, second printing, pp. ix, 161) by Hans Kohn consists of seven essays prepared at various times and re-published here in collected form, to serve as a continuation of the author's two previous books—*Force or Reason* and *Revolutions and Dictatorships*. The first essay, "The Totalitarian Philosophy of War" is particularly noteworthy. The others are entitled: "Academic Freedom in Our Time," "The Problem of

Central Europe" (in two parts—"The Legacy of the Hapsburgs" and "Czech Democracy"), "Illusion and Disillusion," "Coalesce or Collide," and "Education for the Coming Era." A descriptive list of books is appended. O.D.W.

John Stuart Mill's essay *On Social Freedom*, written not long before his death in 1873 and long neglected and in inaccessible form, has at last been published by the Columbia University Press (New York: 1941, pp. 69) with an Introduction by Dorothy Fosdick. Mill's shift towards socialism in his later years is well known. This essay throws greater light on this change of position, and its publication is a decided service to students of Mill's philosophy and of the more social trends of late 19th century liberalism. O.D.W.